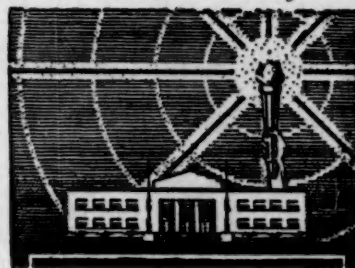


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VOLUME LII, NUMBER 2

FEBRUARY, 1961

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## As the Editor Sees It

One of our great national weekly magazines recently devoted a considerable amount of space to a report on the comparative educational systems of the United States and four Western European nations, as far as they applied to children ten to fourteen years old. Insofar as such surveys can be fair and valid, this one probably was. The results indicated such things as: American children spend less time on schoolwork than Europeans; they are well prepared in science, but less so in geography and arithmetic; they are more concerned with high grades than European children, go to the movies less often, are more desirous of becoming teachers, and spend more time on the telephone. Talented children apparently get less special attention here than in European countries.

For all of these and the other findings there are reasons. Not all of these reasons are completely valid; and many of them are rooted in the social and historical developments of the respective countries. Certainly the greater use of the telephone and of television by American children is due to a large extent to the fact that these instruments are found in most American homes, which is not true in Europe. Almost as certainly the greater emphasis on geographical learning in Europe is due in part to its own location, with so many nations in close contact. This is also the principal explanation for the greater emphasis there on the learning of foreign languages. This is not to say that the United States could not do more in these and other fields; but the fact that its educational program has developed along different lines and with different emphasis cannot be glibly written off to the wrong-headedness and incompetence of its educators. It is what the American people as a whole made it, and presumably what they wanted to make it. Certainly in none of the European countries do the people themselves have as direct a control of their schools as they do in the

United States. Local direction of education is a fundamental American policy, with all that this implies about responsibility.

Certainly we would like to claim that our children know more of academic subjects, and can read, write and spell better, than those elsewhere. Probably we cannot truthfully do so, although we doubt if the differences are really significant. Almost certainly we must admit that we should do more to help the talented children develop their abilities; in this we are backward. But we think that education has more to its purposes than these things. Is it not reasonable to say that a total educational system should prepare the children to become intelligent, sane, law-abiding and constructive citizens? And this purpose cannot be evaluated by any pencil-and-paper quiz or by a questionnaire. It can be tested only by its results. How does our system compare with others by this type of criterion?

It is our contention that Americans in general have demonstrated in the test of sane living a comparatively high degree of achievement. Consider the traditional instability and indifference to good government in France, and its many instances of violent action; the recent mob demonstrations in Belgium; the tragic tendency of the German people to idolize militarism and brutality in uniform; the inability of even the English to appreciate the evil of Communism as we do. One thinks of these, and is struck by the evident sanity and moderation of our own population. Even such highly publicized occurrences as those in New Orleans and Little Rock are conspicuous chiefly by their rarity. Such examples of mobocracy would scarcely rate a headline in most European nations. "To the barricades!" is not a phrase of American origin.

If the ability to live at peace with others, while protecting the liberty of the individual,

*(Continued on page 80)*



# Recent Interpretations of the Causes of the American Revolution

CHRISTOPHER COLLIER

*Ridgefield, Connecticut*

In trying to teach the American Revolution to my high school Juniors, I have been struck time and time again by the profusion and diversity of interpretations of its causes. That these interpretations all come from highly qualified historians only tends to confuse me more. Even the most recent published discussion of the subject does not deal with all the theories, nor does it deal with some of the most up to date works.<sup>1</sup>

The old Bancroftian view that the War was caused by the stupidity of a few greedy place-seekers abetted by the slow-witted and inept King George III, has been greatly revised. Indeed, these revisions, modified and revised again by recent critics, compose the generally accepted view of the causes of the War.<sup>2</sup> If the average over-worked teacher of history is to keep from falling behind the brighter of his own students, he needs to know what these new interpretations are. A closer look at what scholarship has done during the past decade would surely be worth his while.

In 1796 John Adams told an acquaintance that he feared no good history of the American Revolution would ever be written. The participants were dying off, he said, and their views and recollections would be lost forever. Worse yet, the best sources for such a history had been carried off to England and Canada. For Adams felt that the most valuable materials would be among the papers of such Tories as Hutchinson, Sewell and Oliver. These men had died in Nova Scotia, and Adams feared that their families would suppress their papers.<sup>3</sup>

For a century Adams' judgment was thoroughly borne out. But during the 1890's Tory materials began to make a belated

entrance upon the historiographic scene. They have since come to play an almost dominant role in the interpretation of our War for Independence. The contemporary major-domo of the British archives is Lawrence Gipson, Professor Emeritus of Lehigh University, and one time lecturer at the University of Oxford. Under his stewardship these materials have been assembled and developed so as to reevaluate and revise in drastic fashion the old Whig interpretation of the War.

## THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS

In the use of British materials Gipson has followed the lead of Beer, Andrews and Labaree. In 1936 he began our first broad and deep survey of the American Revolution from the imperial point of view. Gipson's most recent volumes have described the "Great War for Empire" (1754-63) in detailed form; from 1763 to 1775 we have an abbreviated sequel on the growth of colonial discontent.<sup>4</sup> Gipson believes that from an imperial point of view—including those parts of the empire in the eastern as well as the western hemisphere—the British colonial system was fair. He sums up his view this way:

"In conclusion it may be said that it would be idle to deny that most colonials in the 18th century at one time or another felt strongly the desire for freedom of action in a wider variety of ways than was legally permitted before 1754. Indeed, one can readily uncover these strong impulses even in the early part of the 17th century. Yet Americans were by and large realists, as were the British, and under the functioning of the system from, let us say, 1650 to 1750 great mutual advantages were

enjoyed, with a fair division, taking everything into consideration, of the financial burdens necessary to support the system. However, the mounting Anglo-French rivalry in North America from 1750 onward, the outbreak of hostilities in 1754, and the subsequent nine years of fighting destroyed the old equilibrium, leaving the colonials after 1760 in a highly favorable position in comparison with the taxpayers of Great Britain. *Attempts on the part of the Crown and Parliament to restore by statute the old balance led directly to the American constitutional crisis, out of which came the Revolutionary War and the establishment of American independence.* [Italics mine.] Such, ironically, was the aftermath of the Great War for the Empire, a war that Britons believed, as the Earl of Shelbourne affirmed in 1762 in Parliament, was begun for the 'Security of the British colonies in North America . . .'<sup>5</sup>

However, other leading authorities have criticized Gipson's interpretation. Edmund Morgan of Yale has said, "In spite of the spirit of toleration in which Professor Gipson presents his facts, the facts themselves suggest a certain churlishness on the part of a people who refused in the Mother Country's hour of need to pay the comparatively small sums demanded of them."<sup>6</sup> To Louis Wright, Gipson's "spirit of toleration" becomes a reaction to the old Whig point of view so great ". . . that his generalizations are certain to provoke vigorous debate."<sup>7</sup> And Clarence VerSteeg, while admitting that familiarity with Dr. Gipson's work is essential to an understanding of the period, asserts, "The fact is that Professor Gipson's treatment is not properly balanced." In consequence Gipson is too harsh toward the merchants of Massachusetts and planters of Virginia, and too sympathetic with the poor, oppressed and over-taxed petitioners of England.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, support for Gipson is found in the writing of Curtis P. Nettles of Cornell. Dr. Nettles says that, "The colonists were not seriously antagonized by the British

imperium prior to 1763." He agrees that antagonism grew out of the ending of the Anglo-French rivalry in America. Before 1763, Nettles says, the Molasses Act was not enforced, and money came to the colonies because of the wars, shipowners and builders shared the national monopoly of imperial trade, and most important of all, the British government followed an extremely liberal land policy making farms available on easy terms to settlers of all nationalities and religions. Nettles goes on to say that all this changed after 1763. No longer was money paid out by the Mother country for colonial provisions, shipping and manpower; on the contrary, the colonists were asked for expenditures to support their own defenses. In addition restrictive western land measures were passed; "The Crown prosecuted with vigor" laws almost ignored previously and added new restrictive legislation as well.<sup>9</sup>

But in his turn, Nettles, too, comes under fire as being too Whiggish in his viewpoint. In a review of Nettles' *George Washington and American Independence*,<sup>10</sup> Richard Morris says that Nettles paints the usual Whig picture of King George's England as a sink of iniquity, an unbalanced view imputing the worst motives to others without careful scrutiny of our own.<sup>11</sup>

From the University of Pennsylvania Oliver M. Dickerson has also written in the imperial vein, and his findings generally support Gipson's theses that the British colonial system was fair. But Dickerson locates the causes of the war in actions of the selfish and stupid place-seekers sent to America to execute the revenue-raising and trade control aspects of Parliamentary legislation. These "carpetbaggers" antagonized politically important colonial merchants and thus brought on the war.<sup>12</sup> Gipson disagrees with this analysis, commenting that:

"[students] are unlikely to agree with Professor Dickerson that the change [in American attitude] was brought about because a crowd of hungry British place-seekers had to be taken care of, but rather because of something much more relevant to the welfare of the North American con-

tinient; the vital necessity of facing the problem of defending the vast acquisitions won there in the course of the war and, to this end, of providing the costs of this program, as stressed in the Shelburne, Amherst and other collections of papers that Professor Dickerson does not seem to have used."<sup>13</sup>

#### THE BRITISH IMPERIALISTS (*The Namierists*)

Nor have citizens of Mother England neglected this period. Indeed, it has been one of the most active fields of recent British historiography. The diggings of the so-called Namierist school have continued since Sir Lewis Namier's work of 1929, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*.<sup>14</sup> Supported also by Eric Robson<sup>15</sup> and Charles Ritcheson,<sup>16</sup> Namier's greatest aid has come from Richard Pares, late of the University of Edinburgh, whose *King George III and the Politicians*<sup>17</sup> received considerable acclaim in this country as well as in England.<sup>18</sup> Pares presents George III, not as a Whig-baiting Tory partisan, but rather as a patriot king who, like Washington in 1789, sought to rid his government of political parties and the accompanying evil of factional strife.

Although well received on both sides of the Atlantic, the Namierists have not been free from criticism. Chief of these hostiles is Professor Herbert Butterfield of the University of Cambridge. I cannot resist pointing out the parallel between Butterfield's assault<sup>19</sup> on Namier and his methods, and Robert Brown's similar attacks on Charles Beard. Butterfield objects that the method of structural, or leader by leader, analysis really fails to provide a synthesized interpretation. One sees the trees more clearly—even the very bark and twigs; but what has become of the forest itself?

Butterfield admits that Professor Namier "has long been playing:

a most important part . . ." in developing the relations between politics and society during the reign of George III. "His *Structure of Politics* (1929) not only enriched this side of the study with new techniques, but attained results of remarkable preci-

sion, results that are a solid contribution to scholarship." However, "It is not permissible to imagine that the England of 1760 is unique in the sense that just here the study of 'structure' must replace other forms of history. . . . We cannot afford to sacrifice the kind of history which broadened a man's political outlook—the history which dealt with politics and statesmanship and the march of great events."<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile the followers of Lewis Namier have counterattacked the Butterfield position. For instance, Romney Sedgwick, who until 1954 was Assistant Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, attributes misrepresentations and mistakes to Butterfield, and says, "It never seems to occur to him that they (the Namierists) might be simply interested in the truth."<sup>21</sup> And so it goes, 'round and 'round.

#### THE INTERNAL CONFLICT

Perhaps the most striking development of the past decade has been the disappearance of the out-and-out Beardian. Historians today are not buying the idea that individual economic motivations alone carried us into the Revolutionary or any other war. But there is a good deal of research exploring the internal conflict which accompanied our battle for independence. Though most of this new work focuses upon the city dweller, there is one very interesting new essay which deals with the farmer. In this study, an outgrowth of his recent (1957) dissertation at Columbia, William S. Sachs shows that bad crop years in England in 1765 changed that nation from a wheat exporter to a wheat importer. As a result the price of American wheat soared almost beyond the reach of the British urban poor. If this distressed the poor, it alarmed the better classes as well—for they were faced with the unthinkable prospect of higher wages in order that their employees might eat. "What is relative to this study," Sachs writes, "is the fact:

that complaints of hard times emanated almost wholly from urban groups [in America] and did not picture farmers as victims of depressed economic conditions. When it is considered that over 90% of



the population made their living directly from agriculture, the years from the Peace of Paris down to the Revolution may be viewed as fairly prosperous for the major body of income receivers."<sup>22</sup>

From the point of view of the urban historian, Carl Brindenbaugh supports Sachs' contention that city and town interests led us to the war.<sup>23</sup> Brindenbaugh argues that

"Constant communication arising out of the needs of commerce' fused the urban communities 'into an integrated society.' In each of the five cities 'certain common physical, economic, cultural and social characteristics accentuated the homogeneity' in share contrast to the marked diversity in rural areas, north and south. And, according to the author, 'achievement of this integration of urban elements was an essential prelude to independence.'"<sup>24</sup>

Mention should be made here of Arthur Schlesinger's study of the role of the colonial press—an urban institution—in whipping up a fighting independence spirit. Schlesinger also makes the interesting statement that next to independence itself, perhaps freedom of the press was the Revolution's greatest contribution to the world.<sup>25</sup>

At Marietta College in Ohio Robert Taylor believes that Boston was well in advance of rural Massachusetts in its revolutionary thinking. Taylor shows that the farmers of western Massachusetts lagged far behind the Bostonians. They accepted the Stamp Act, for instance, and revealed little excitement until the Intolerable Acts. Once independence had been declared, the farmers were interested chiefly in getting a new liberal constitution for their state.<sup>26</sup> However, Robert Brown, at Michigan State continues to develop his somewhat different thesis that on the eve of the Revolution Massachusetts—and by extension other colonies—was decidedly democratic. Thus rural as well as urban people bear the responsibility for engagement in the war.<sup>27</sup> Professor Richard Morris, head of Columbia's Department of History, points out that this is certainly not true of South Carolina and perhaps other states as well. He says that Brown overlooks the tradition

of patrician leadership in New England.<sup>28</sup> Clifford Shipton of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, agrees with Dr. Morris:

"The thesis that colonial Massachusetts was a solid middle-class democracy is sound, but Dr. Brown missed the fact that the chief means of government at the provincial level was the election of gentlemen to carry on the ill-paid and unpleasant burdens of administration. This was their social obligation, and for fulfilling it the common folk accorded them social respect."<sup>29</sup>

#### THE REVOLUTION AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The question as to the relative importance of political and social results of the American Revolution—or is it the War for Independence?—is still an active one. However, the idea that the war was a great domestic social revolution is losing ground. Thomas Wertenbaker of Princeton holds that in the early stages of the conflict at least, the colonials were fighting for freedom from imperial restraint,<sup>30</sup> "... for liberty rather than independence," as one reviewer has remarked.<sup>31</sup> Wertenbaker's Princeton colleague, Wesley Craven, has pointed out the influence of history and the idea of a continuity of earlier 18th century ideas of British rights on such men as John Adams. This historical-mindedness helped to bring on the war and to keep it under control after the shooting began.<sup>32</sup>

Cornell's Clinton Rossiter explores, in his *Seedtime of the Republic*,<sup>33</sup> the continuity of this colonial concept of liberty. He shows that while the colonials did shift ground several times, there was a generally consistent feeling that the idea of freedom had to be defended in the pre-1776 decade. John Alden also treats the war as an independence movement rather than a local social upheaval.<sup>34</sup> Alden is no Whig, but he does say that the action of the Revolutionists was justified.<sup>35</sup> Incidentally, Alden makes the point that Trenton rather than Saratoga was the turning point of the war. The victory at Trenton gave heart to the Revolutionary cause without which it might have died on the spot. Elisha Douglass of the University



of North Carolina agrees that the war was fought for independence.<sup>36</sup> He adds that the social consequences grew out of the opportunities for new constitution making—opportunities well exploited by the lower classes. This is also pretty much the view of Richard Morris.<sup>37</sup>

Insistence that the war was fought for independence—for local rule rather than for factional or class control in the states—is given cautious support by Edmund Morgan of Yale. Morgan shows that the American denial of Parliament's right to control external taxes, as well as internal taxes, antedates the Townshend Acts of 1767 by at least three years.<sup>38</sup> He believes that Franklin and the British Whigs soft pedaled this feeling, however, as tactically necessary in order to get a repeal of the Stamp Act. Dr. Morgan expands his temperate view of both the American Revolutionaries and Parliament in a later work.<sup>39</sup> John Alden has said of this book that Morgan "... is unfair neither to Britain nor to the colonies, he refuses to make too much of political and social clash among the patriots..."<sup>40</sup>

At Swarthmore Frederick Tolles defends as essentially correct the Jameson idea of a social and economic revolution growing out of the War for Independence.<sup>41</sup> But he tries to present a more balanced picture. The social changes were not as great as Jameson thought; suffrage was broader before the war than Jameson believed, and it spread very little in the years after; land holdings of Tories went mostly to large landowners and were not spread among small farmers; the relationship between the increase in mercantile activity and the war has not been studied; Jameson underestimates the local or national feelings of the colonists for America before the war, and Tolles says there was not much change on that score during the war.<sup>42</sup>

#### NEW VIEWS CHALLENGED

About three years ago Edmund Morgan pointed out that the Beardians, the Imperialists and their British brothers, the Nami-erists, all tended to break down the old Whig interpretation of the war. Morgan challenged

each of these schools to answer questions that their own interpretations raised.<sup>43</sup>

Of the Imperialists he queries: If the imperial system was administered fairly, why was there a revolution at all? If the answer is that the Revolutionists were moved by narrow selfish views and stirred by evil-minded agitators, how does one explain men like Jefferson, Washington, Franklin or John Adams? Were they evil-minded? Were they dupes of agitators? Who were the agitators?

Of the Nami-erists he asks: If there was no party organization, but only individuals with narrow, local interests, then how could there have been an imperial system at all, to say nothing of its alleged beneficence and far-sightedness? If George III held so high a place of power and responsibility, should he not be held responsible for the loss of half an empire? Hasn't his pedestal been raised a little too high? And if the Whigs were hypocritical and selfish, why were they all hypocritical in the same way, and why for abstract principles that eventually won out, anyway? "Can we be sure that they were on the right side for the wrong reasons?" As for the Beardians, he points to their faulty historiographic methods and chastises them for projecting nineteenth and twentieth century ideas of property into eighteenth century minds.

In the end Morgan brings us full circle. We find ourselves right back at the Whig interpretation of the war with which American history began back at the close of the 18th century. It is a highly modified, and greatly complicated interpretation, of course, but agreement with the old Bancroftians is basic.

"We may still believe that the American Revolution was in part a contest about who should rule at home, but we should beware of assuming that people took sides in that contest according to whether or not they owned property. And totally abandon the assumption that those who had the greatest concern for property rights were not devoted to human rights.

"What I would suggest in conclusion is

that the Whig interpretation of the American Revolution may not be as dead as some historians would have us believe . . . we may still ask: how did the Americans, living on the edge of empire, develop the breadth of vision and the attachment to principle which they displayed in that remarkable period from 1763 to 1789? While English politics remained parochial and the empire was dissolving for lack of vision, how did Americans generate the forces that carried them into a new nationality and a new human liberty?"

#### IN CONCLUSION

The classroom teacher may well ask at this point: of what use is a series of questions as an explanation of the Revolutionary War? Is this response going to satisfy or frustrate high school classes? Obviously, explanation by way of further questions is no explanation at all. Nor is a series of questions any interpretation at all. What, then, are we to tell our students?

A safe bet is to give them the old Whig picture: King George III was an incompetent and confused politician who surrounded himself with stubborn, short-sighted ministers, who in turn frustrated the burgeoning economic and geographic expansionistic forces of the American Colonies (expressed, of course, in political terms—patriotic slogans). But—and this caveat is vital—modern scholarship has modified this view considerably, and we must, in fairness to our students, let them know this. We must point out that after all the American colonies were only part of a much larger empire; that British subjects in England didn't have all the political rights that the colonists demanded in 1776; that British home politics played an important part in determining imperial policy; that mercantile interests were important in pushing our drive for separation.

If the shape of the forest is now emerging through all the trees currently being inspected, it is plainly a Bancroftian scene. If our students see the woods clearly, perceiving that it is shady, and know what

makes it so, we have done a hard job and done it well.

<sup>1</sup> Edmund S. Morgan, *The American Revolution: A Review of Changing Interpretations*. Washington, Service Center for Teachers of History, 1958. 17 ps.

<sup>2</sup> See for instance Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience*. New York, Random House, 1958. 361 ps.

<sup>3</sup> E. H. Smith, "John Adams on the History of the Revolution," a reminiscence by Dr. Elihu Hubbard Smith of a conversation with Adams on November 28, 1796. In *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 73:92-93 (1949).

<sup>4</sup> *The Coming of the Revolution*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1954. 278 ps.

<sup>5</sup> "The American Revolution as an Aftermath of the Great War for the Empire," *Political Science Quarterly*, V. 65:86-104, (March, 1950).

<sup>6</sup> In a review of Gipson's *The Coming of the Revolution*. *Am. Hist. Rev.* vol. 60:614-15. (April, 1955).

<sup>7</sup> In a review of Gipson's *The Great War for the Empire: The Culmination (1760-63)*. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 41:316-18, (September, 1954).

<sup>8</sup> In a review of *The Coming of the Revolution*. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, vol. 41:694-96, (March, 1955).

<sup>9</sup> "The British Mercantilism and the Economic Development of Thirteen Colonies," in *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 12:105-114 (1952).

<sup>10</sup> Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1951. 338 ps.

<sup>11</sup> In an *Am. Hist. Rev.*, vol. 58:928-29 (July, 1953).

<sup>12</sup> *The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution*. Philadelphia, The Univ. of Penna. Press, 1951. 344 ps.

<sup>13</sup> In a review in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, vol. 57:687-90 (April, 1952).

<sup>14</sup> London, Macmillan and Co., 1929, 2 vols. (also a second edition in 1957).

<sup>15</sup> *The American Revolution in its Political and Military Aspects*. London, Batchworth Press, 1955. 254 ps.

<sup>16</sup> *British Politics and the American Revolution*. Norman, Okla., Univ. of Okla. Press, 1954. 320 ps.

<sup>17</sup> Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1954. 214 ps., and summarized in Pares' "George III and the Politicians" in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, London, 5th Series, vol. 1:127-151 (1951).

<sup>18</sup> See reviews by L. P. Curtis in *Yale Review*, vol. 43:133 (Autumn, 1953); J. H. Plumb in *The Spectator*, vol. 190:130 (Jan. 30, 1953); F. G. Marcham in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, vol. 59 (October, 1953).

<sup>19</sup> In his *George III and the Historians*, London, Collins, 1957. 299 ps., and a revised edition in 1959 by Macmillan Co., New York.

<sup>20</sup> "George III and the Namier School," *Encounter*, vol. 8:70-72 (April, 1957).

<sup>21</sup> In a review of Butterfield. *The Listeners*, ps. 941-42, Dec. 5, 1957.

<sup>22</sup> "Agricultural Conditions in Northern Colonies before the Revolution," *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 13:274-290 (1953). A summary of a larger work to be published.

<sup>23</sup> *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America 1743-1776*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1955. 434 ps.

<sup>24</sup> Summary of Brindenbaugh in a review by James Hedges in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, vol. 61:654-55 (April, 1956).

- <sup>25</sup> *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1958. 318 ps.
- <sup>26</sup> *Western Massachusetts in the Revolution*. Providence, Brown Univ. Press, 1954. 227 ps.
- <sup>27</sup> *Middleclass Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts 1691-1780*. Ithaca, Cornell Univ. Press, 1955. 458 ps.
- <sup>28</sup> In a review in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, vol. 62:636-37 (April, 1957).
- <sup>29</sup> In a review in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 71:306-308 (June, 1956).
- <sup>30</sup> *Give Me Liberty: The Struggle for Self-Government in Virginia*. Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1958. 275 ps.
- <sup>31</sup> Hugh T. Lefler in *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, vol. 45:492-93 (Dec., 1958).
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- <sup>35</sup> *The American Revolution*. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1954. 294 ps.
- <sup>36</sup> *Rebels and Democrats*. Chapel Hill, Univ. of North Carolina Press 1955. 368 ps.
- <sup>37</sup> Given in a review of Douglass. *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 70:452-54 (September, 1955).
- <sup>38</sup> With Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: A Prologue to Revolution*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1953. 310 ps.
- <sup>39</sup> *The Birth of the Republic (1763-89)*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1956. 176 ps.
- <sup>40</sup> In a review in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, vol. 62:637-38 (April, 1957).
- <sup>41</sup> "The American Revolution as a Social Movement: A Reevaluation," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, vol. 60:1-12. (October, 1954).
- <sup>42</sup> Jameson's point of view is best expressed in his pioneering little work of 1926, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*.
- <sup>43</sup> "The American Revolution: Revisions in Need of Revising," *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 14:3-15, (3rd series) (January, 1957).

## The Geopolitical Pattern of Laos

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The Buddhist kingdom of Laos, once known as "The Land of a Million Elephants," was carved out of French Indo-China in the Geneva conference after the stubbornly fought battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954. This land, where yellow-robed ethereal Buddhist monks intermingle among wandering water buffalo and the lumbering of heavy-wheeled ox-carts, has Communists to the north of it (China), Communists to the east (North Viet Nam), and Communists inside it (the Pathet Lao party).

"We are a little country. We have no illusions. We know that we are not important in world affairs. But if Laos goes to the Communists, Cambodia goes, Thailand goes, and Southeast Asia goes." Thus warned the Paris-educated Crown Prince Savang Vathana recently. And now a time of decision has come to this sparsely-settled kingdom as the whine of Communist snipers' bullets in the thick jungles of north Laos herald ominously a full scale invasion.

About two years ago Laos showed indications of slipping inexorably toward Red rule. As the result of a queer, incredible armistice with its own Communist rebels, the Laotian

government reserved two of its Cabinet posts for Communists and agreed to absorb two battalions of Communist rebels into the royal army.

Now, as fruit of this blunder, the nations of the world wait tremulously for what may again set aflame a larger area.

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Geographically, what is Laos? Few Americans have heard of it, and many have not been aware of its existence until recent months.

Laos is a land-locked, mountainous, tropical "paradise," green with mango and coconut palm trees, ripe with bananas and citrus fruits. Its 90,000 square miles (the size of Kansas) border on China, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Viet Nam. Monsoons, in our summer season, sweep away its few small airstrips and flood the lush valleys of its nine provinces: Xieng Khouang, Sam Neua, Phong Saly, Luang Prabang, Khong Muo, Vientiane, Thakhek, Savannakhet, and Saravane. Its capital city, Vientiane, with some 25,000 population, is located almost in Thailand at the cutting tip of the tomahawk-shaped Laos.



In this jungle-land, the 2,500 miles of crudely paved roads are mainly in and out of the cities and lead to winding, narrow paths into wilderness native hideaways. It is the Makong River, flowing 1,200 miles down the western border, which is Laos' important highway of commerce with the South China Sea. Up this water-way by barge come almost all imports from the outside world, though some trucking and ferrying from Thailand has started. Down this rapidly-flowing stream to Saigon are floated the heavy teakwood logs which are one of Laos' chief exports. The logs are hauled down to the river's banks by elephants. Other exports are tin, coffee, and opium smuggled down from the mountains.

No railroads and few airports indicate that Laos is far behind in those facilities that make for 20th Century progress. Communications through jungle areas still consist of runners carrying messages in cleft sticks.

These 1,300,000 Laotians—mostly of Thai extraction—live in "Asia's last oasis of tranquility." Hardy tribesmen are hidden away atop rugged mountain tops where they tend opium-producing poppies. Most of these brown-skinned Laotians live in one-room bamboo and wooden huts along the Makong River or its tributaries. Common Laotian homes are little more than sleeping porches. Raised on piles, with the space underneath devoted to a loom or for livestock, the light huts are crude affairs, since most household activities are carried on in the open. Resisting rain and sun, without holding heat, these thatched shelters, admirably adapted to the tropical climate, are copied in more pretentious buildings in the cities.

Pleasant-mannered and peace-loving, the Laotians like few laws, light taxes, and much comfort. They have in the past refused to perform coolie work; Annamite laborers were brought up from the plains for whatever manual labor had to be done when the French attempted to instill a bit of modernity here.

Rice, growing in flooded fields or hillside terraces ill adapted to the cultivation of other

foods, is the food—and in the form of arrack or sake, the drink—to Laotians who have seldom thought of wheat or corn for their sustenance.

Fish, cultivated in the marshy rice paddies or found in well-stocked rivers, complete the list of staples in the Laotian diet. Though various fruits supplement this, many Laotians suffer from diseases caused by malnutrition. About one out of every three children (before recent U. S. aid) died in infancy.

Gold, tin, lead, cotton, tobacco are also to be found in this land clothed with extensive teak forests.

Laotians weave exotic patterns and beautiful colors into their cotton clothes. There is little industry other than this weaving. Even with its fertile soil, the country often must import food. Recently a U. S. relief agency rescued some villages from starvation by parachuting 1,500 tons of rice on them—the biggest airdrop in peacetime history. Laos needs help economically, and in many other ways. This remote land has no lawyers or scientists to bother mentioning; and not very long ago, in all of Laos, there was only one medical doctor and one trained engineer.

The oriental carrying-pole is the wheel and the cart—tested and approved—to these natives. Never was the wooden yoke of the dairy farmer or maple syrup collector as jaunty as the flexible carrying-pole. It breaks the force of the carrier's stride, equalizes the pull of unequal burdens, and can be switched behind the neck from shoulder to shoulder without the loss of a step. But what good is it, in the 1960's and thereon, when in competition with Communist bull-dozers, against the monstrosly powerful and swift-acting equipment of a mechanized invader?

In the past two years, because Communists were in the Cabinet and were holding a strong minority in the legislature, inflationary measures almost ruined the economy; whatever few American dollars had been given Laos were going "down the drain."

The picture does not appear encouraging in other directions when it is realized that



factors of long standing, such as trade in opium, mar the pattern of enlightened improvement that some Laotians hope for. Fields of poppies have bloomed for centuries in the remote, jungle-clad valleys of north Laos. The local Meos and kindred tribesmen delicately pierce the flowering buds, extract the sticky raw opium. Some of it they use themselves. When a Meo child complains of an ache, his mother may blow opium smoke into his mouth to ease the pain; for Meo adults, opium-smoking provides a "goofing-off" pleasure that is their substitute for the combined attractions of alcohol, tobacco, literature and other forms of escapism.

The town of Xieng Khouang is the outlet for Meo opium-growers where a kilo of the drug brings \$30. From here the business gets into illicit channels and high prices. By pony express or by light planes taking off from the few jungle airfields built by the French during their war with Communist Viet Minh, hard-headed middle-men transport this raw opium to Bangkok and Hong Kong. There it is bought by Chinese dealers at up to \$1,000 a kilo and refined into morphine and heroin, as well as smokable opium. Smugglers then take possession, hoping for the vast profits to be gained from selling the narcotic in the big cities of Asia, Europe, and the United States.

The first "anti-vice" drive against Communism, opium, prostitution, gambling, and liquor—the evils that Laos is heir to—was started in Vientiane in July, 1959, but the Red "invasion" of the following month quickly terminated this reform, and future legislation against opium, with its thousands of addicts, will not come easy or soon.<sup>1</sup>

Priests and sorcerers present another obstacle to a Laotian Awakening. This multiple assortment of individuals representing an ancient lore listens not to the voice of living authority, but to the mysterious mandates of the gods. Their trancelike seances cannot be profaned by worldly, life-or-death interference. Many tribes practice witchcraft with the aid of sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. For comfort amid the powers of darkness, flood, and disease, people turn to magic.

Festivities, any and all kinds, are the order of any day propitious for a suspension from too rigid an adherence to the accumulation of the necessities of life. One need not depend on his own efforts for survival; a cotton cord tied about one's wrist will produce the good luck that is needed and a sprig of jasmine will insure a spirit of conviviality and happiness for all concerned. Crafty foot-boxing contests carry an appeal that outshadows any distant threat of force. In them one can hypnotize himself into an extreme of concentration as he awaits the maneuver of one of the contestants to provide the slight push or twist of the foot that will upset the opponent—and there is no count to ten to give him another chance.

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Historically, Laos was founded by Lao (Thai) migrants from the southern part of China in the 14th Century. Laos enjoyed its greatest period in the 16th and 17th Centuries before it subsequently split into four kingdoms, which fell variously under the yoke of their more powerful neighbors. In 1853 Viet Nam, already controlled by the French, annexed all of Laos except Luang Prabang, and even this province accepted Vietnamese suzerainty.

By 1885, with Tonkin, Annam, and Cambodia, Laos—the last of the provinces with some 850,000 semi-primitive peoples—came definitely under French "protection."

In 1887 Laos, with the above-mentioned neighbors, was admitted into the Indochinese Union under a French governor-general who had overall directive power. Each of the "states" retained largely autonomous administrations. The Laotian royal house operated a native government paralleling the French officialdom. It possessed very little power and was closely supervised by the French. The communes or villages were self-governed by the native oligarchies.

In 1940 Vichy was induced to cede portions of Laos and Cambodia to Thailand, but when the Japanese were victorious in 1945, having interned all Frenchmen, Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam were "encouraged" to declare their independence.

The Franco-Laotian Treaty of 1949 made Laos "independent" and it became an Associated State in the French Union. However, its military and foreign affairs remained under French direction and French nationals received many privileges, including extra-territoriality.

The Implementation Conventions of 1950 provided that the services formerly administered by France were transferred to the Laotian administration, and by 1953, having signed the Franco-Laotian Treaty of Amity and Association, Laos freely reaffirmed its membership in the French Union, "with freedom and equality of rights and duties."

Since then, Laos has carried on international relations with 37 or more non-Communist nations. There has been an exchange of diplomatic representatives with a number of nations, including U.S.A., Great Britain, and Thailand. Laos was a signatory power of the Japanese Peace Treaty, a partner in the conclusion of agreements on American military and economic aid to the Indochinese States, a participant in numerous international conferences (Colombo Plan), and in specialized agencies of the United Nations (ECAFE, WHO, ILO, FAO, UNESCO, ITU, UPU). Laos achieved U.N. membership in the "package deal" of December, 1955, when sixteen nations were admitted.

Then, in August, 1959, fighting broke out in northern Laos between pro-Communist Pathet Lao forces and Royal Laotian Government troops. This quarrel stems, perhaps, back to 1953 when Communist-led troops from troubled Viet Nam invaded Laos in the north and set up a puppet regime called Pathet Lao (Lao Nation). The Laotians gave scant support to this regime, but it existed, nevertheless, with the food and arms provided by Red China and Communist Viet Nam.

In 1954, when the eight-year struggle ended between the French and the Communist-led Viet Nameese rebels, the 72-year old constitutional monarch, Sisavang Vong, was recognized as the rightful ruler of Laos.

However, the Pathet Lao Reds have refused since to give up the two provinces they deemed theirs in northern Laos. Sporadic guerrilla skirmishes have been common occurrences as the Reds try to prevent the Laotian Government from re-establishing its power there. The Laotian 25,000-man army (supported by U.S. aid — \$35,000,000 in 1956) feels it can keep down the Pathet Lao movement—unless outside forces from the north join the Red opposition.

After more than 60 years of French colonial rule, the unwarlike Laotians cherish their newly-won independence of 1955, but under truce terms that ended the Indo-China war, they are hampered from taking initiatory defensive action. They cannot attack the Pathet Lao forces in the provinces claimed by them. The 2000 Pathet Lao Reds who infiltrated the provinces of Phong Saly and Sam Neua indicated that outside elements were involved in stirring up rebellion.

The Communists were aggravated when anti-Communists formed a "Rally" party. The new Premier, Phoui Sananikone, threw the Reds out of the Cabinet. At U.S. insistence, Laotian currency was devalued and the economy began to improve. The Cabinet was further reorganized. Army leaders and young reformists worked together against the Reds in the countryside.

The people pledged their allegiance to the West by defying and ignoring Red propaganda to stay away from a recent election. 300,000 male Laotians over 18 years went to the polls on a hot Christmas day and returned to power a strong pro-Western coalition government. Only one of the 39 assemblymen elected to the National Assembly had Communist sympathies. Appeals were made to SEATO to help the cause of Laotian unity, but the easy-going Laotian peasant is not much help to the Premier when he smilingly sums up the problem with this typical philosophic comment: "Bo pen whang" ("It can't be helped") and keeps inactively admiring the silvery sheen of his beloved Mekong and the yellow moon hanging low in the sky.

It is against this background that U.S.

foreign aid is being extended. U.S. aid amounts to some \$50,000,000 currently, of which an undisclosed amount is being converted by the Laos Government into military aid. It was announced recently that this additional military aid would enable the Laos Government to increase its poorly-trained and meagerly-equipped 25,000-man army by 4,000, and its village militia by an additional 4,000 to 20,000.

The Red aim appears to be to forestall Laotian stability by engaging the Government in a costly, drawn-out struggle with one of two outcomes in mind: 1. Divert enough money and effort from the needed reforms to make Laos ripe for a Communist take-over; 2. Force the Government to bring Communists back into the Cabinet—in effect, give them another chance to sabotage the Government from within.<sup>2</sup>

It is important to realize that Laos is now the only country in the world where both anti-Communists and Communist forces face each other within the borders of the same country. Both sides have accused each other of armed attacks in violation of the 1954 Geneva armistice. Laos is just south of the Yunnan Province of Communist China where a so-called "Thai autonomous state" has been organized with the apparent intent of "liberating" Thailand, and Laos has a 1,500 mile common border with Thailand. A Communist-infiltrated Laos would make it the soft underbelly approach for military entry into the luxuriantly rich rice paddies and fruitlands of Thailand.

The recent Peking conversations between Ho Chi Minh, President of North Viet Nam, Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai of Communist China, with a view of "unifying" Indo-China, are full of foreboding.

In the past two years, Laos has sustained two droughts and a Communist Viet Minh invasion. Though the country is normally able to produce enough rice for its own population, there are three provinces that have been declared famine areas; large segments of the people in these provinces are supposedly living on roots and bark. Many of

the Laotian farmers whose draft animals have been killed by uncharted land mines, are understandably reluctant to till their fields. This, in turn, has aggravated the rice shortage.

It is for reasons such as these that the International Cooperation Administration (formerly FOA) purchased 2,500 tons of glutinous seed rice in Bangkok, Thailand, for distribution in all provinces of Laos, but especially for the famine areas. Negotiations are under way for purchase of another additional 25,000 tons of rice for Laos.

CARE and ICA foodstuffs have been trucked in, air-dropped, carried in dugouts on the rivers and even by elephant into the interior.

And while the United States has been trying to alleviate the Laotian's distress, Viet Minh cadres, highly trained in infiltration, subversion, and military tactics, take over control of small communication areas, and, capitalizing on the present famine, recruit Laotians into the Pathet Lao organization. Resistance to recruitment means violent harassment to the natives; they must either submit to this training or else flee the area.

Using this repressive tactic, eventually the Viet Minh cadres move outside the Pathet Lao area, but stay close enough to maintain surveillance. Communist Chinese surveillance units, it has been reported, have moved in to keep track of the Viet Minh and to give instructions; and thus communication with the royal government is closed and its influence negated; and little by little, with propaganda activated by show of force, Communism creeps on unchecked, and Laos may, with other examples of the recent past, also be gobbled up as another Communist victim.<sup>3</sup>

Ludicrous as it may sound, Radio Peking accuses the United States of trying to turn Laos into a U.S. military base: "This naturally poses a threat to China and North Viet Nam. To eliminate the tension in Laos, all American military personnel and arms and ammunition must be withdrawn; all U.S. military bases must be abolished."<sup>4</sup>

Ngon Sananikone, brother of the Premier



of Laos and special envoy to the U.N., recently issued a public warning that the initial military invasion from North Viet Nam by Red guerrillas was part of a plan for "communization of all Southeast Asia." Some action indeed is desperately needed to counteract the steady stream of broadcasts directed from Hanoi urging the overthrow of the Government of Laos, telling Communists how this could be done—by propaganda, sabotage, and terrorism.<sup>5</sup>

The task of tackling the Laos problem is bound to be immensely complicated. As though there were a question, it will have to be ascertained first whether an "outside power" is infiltrating Laos, as charged by the Vientiane Government, or whether there is no infiltration but merely a civil war.

If there is civil war, then the U.N. has no grounds to intervene, it being an internal matter concerning Laos exclusively. In case of infiltration by North Viet Nam, however,

the Laotian crisis becomes of international concern.

But who would intervene? And within what legal framework? Even if the U.N. sent observers to Laos proper, they would be barred from visiting the area of fighting because a good part of it is under the control of Laotian Communists, and they do not recognize U.N. authority.

Strictly neutral nations may enter the picture to help bring about some sort of peaceful solution, but, regardless of how the "ball bounces," tension in this far-away land will persist for some time, involving once again U.N. recognition of Red China and defense against a Communist ruled Southeast Asia.

<sup>1</sup> *Time*, July 13, 1959, page 25.

<sup>2</sup> *U. S. News & World Report*, August 17, 1959, page 39.

<sup>3</sup> Johansson, Bertram B. *Christian Science Monitor*, July 12, 1959, page 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Time*, August 24, 1959, page 20.

<sup>5</sup> *U. S. News & World Report*, August 17, 1959, page 39.

## Three Views of the Problem of Instruction

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The problem of instruction may be viewed in three ways. Some choose to think of it primarily in terms of the child's interests. Others mainly conceive of instruction as the imparting of subject matter or the training of the mind. Still others believe the problem of instruction is the attempt to teach significant subject matter to pupils who are genuinely engaged in the learning process.

Perhaps the most famous advocate of the first view was Rousseau (June 28, 1712-July 2, 1778). In *Emile* he stated what he believed to be the most important rule of education: "Do not save time but lose it." What he meant was that between the time of birth and age twelve the pupil passed through the "most dangerous period of his life" and that

considerable care should be taken not to teach him things which he did not need to know or that he could not understand. It was the time when "errors and vices spring up, while as yet there is no means to destroy them." He believed that by the time the means of destruction were ready, the roots would have gone too deep to be pulled up. In *Emile*, Rousseau wrote, "man must know many things which seem useless to a child, . . . try to teach the child what is of use to the child and you will find that it takes all his time. Why urge him to the studies of an age he may never reach, to the neglect of those studies which meet his present needs? . . . A child knows he must become a man; all the ideas he may have as to man's estate



are so many opportunities for his instruction, but he should remain in complete ignorance of those ideas which are beyond his grasp. My whole book is one continued argument in support of this fundamental principle of education."<sup>1</sup>

Rousseau was protesting against the times in which he lived. He pointed out that children were thought of as miniature adults who were to have poured into them meaningless subject matters such as the catechism, foreign language (memorized but not understood), foolish fables and the like. He was calling attention to the desirability of considering the "nature" of the child in the learning process. He was demanding that "emotion and experience," the real teachers, be given a chance to educate the child. Let the child's capacity to reason accompany learning and then the child will be able to detect the tempter, the charlatan, the rascal or the fool. Philosophy, history, literature, political theory all were to be studied by the youth after he has gained the power of reason, which is so necessary to their understanding.

For our purposes, what needs to be noted here is that Rousseau's ideas formed the bases of the philosophy of education that has come to be known as the "romantic wing of progressive education." These educators stress the child's nature, seek out his interests and follow them, slavishly, in many instances. Much is made over the "needs" of the child. The problem of instruction is seen to be mainly getting the learner involved in an activity of personal interest and meaning to him. While there is some merit in this position, it is one-sided. The significance of the content is not given due consideration and the function of the teacher as director of the learning process is minimized. In the opinion of Herbart, Rousseau liberated the pupil but made a slave of the teacher.<sup>2</sup>

Whereas the child was the chief concern in the romantic notion of instruction, subject matter is the main interest of another group. These persons think of the problem of instruction as "training the mind," "teaching the facts," or "memory." Recently a

school board member, when asked to indicate what kind of classroom activity he most desired in his system replied, "memory." He meant that he wanted to see the students of his small town trained in the subject matter contained in the textbooks until they could spout answers to almost any question that might be put to them.

Harry Golden voiced much of the same sentiment in a recent article that appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Golden, the author of *Only in America* and editor of the *Carolina Israelite*, whom many have admired for his insights into the problem of desegregation, charges that "No one reads books any more." Challenging the entire ideal of progressive education, he urges that the educational system of America wake up to the danger of letting pupils do what they want. "Today it is a big joke," he writes. "You watch them running from classroom to classroom and it's all a fake. They know nothing. Nothing at all." Golden then dares the American public to go into these high school classrooms and ask seniors such questions as (1) Who was the Marquis de Lafayette? (2) Who was Jean Valjean? (3) Name four members of the United States Supreme Court. (4) Who was the first man to circumnavigate the globe? and (5) What do we call the series of letters written by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison which helped bring about the United States of America? If you find more than three per cent of the students answering these questions correctly, Mr. Golden asks you to notify him immediately so that he can begin his journey from Charlotte, N. C. to Atlanta, Georgia, pushing a peanut with his nose all the way.

What the school board member and Mr. Golden both may know, but have forgotten to mention, is that textbooks are the means to an education. They are not the end. They have failed to see that the desire of the pupil to learn, to want to continue to learn is important, possibly more important than any one set of facts that can be learned. Where is the cultivation of the ability to inquire in this scheme of educational values? Is not

much of our knowledge really misinformation? It was James Harvey Robinson who reminded us of this possibility when he said: "And now the astonishing and perturbing suspicion emerges that perhaps almost all that has passed for social science, political economy, politics, and ethics in the past may be brushed aside by future generations as mainly rationalizing. . . . This conclusion may be ranked by students of a hundred years hence as one of the several great discoveries of our age."<sup>4</sup>

There is a third way of viewing the problem of instruction. It seeks to balance the two elements stressed in the positions discussed above, and it adds an additional consideration. It was John Dewey who wrote: "The problem of instruction is thus that of finding material which will engage a person in specific activities having an aim or purpose of moment or interest to him, and dealing with things not as gymnastic appliances but as conditions for the attainment of ends."<sup>5</sup> What did Dewey have in mind when he wrote this? What is the meaning of this passage for the classroom teacher?

To the great surprise of many, Dewey began by indicating that the problem of instruction first of all involved finding material; i.e., subject matter. Subject matter consists of facts "observed, recalled, read, talked about, and the ideas suggested, in course of a development of a situation having a purpose." Thus Dewey thought of subject matter in terms of its use in a process of investigation. He saw the educator's part in the educative enterprise as one of furnishing stimuli to the learner and directing the learner. "In the last analysis," he wrote, "*all* that the educator can do is modify stimuli so that response will as surely as is possible result in the formation of desirable intellectual and emotional disposition. Obviously studies, or the subject matter of the curriculum have intimately to do with the business of supplying an environment."<sup>6</sup>

Increasingly, subject matter has become isolated from the business of life. It is aloof from the habits and ideals of the society that established the school. Consequently chil-

dren frequently see no connection between subject matter of the classroom and the matters of society. This prompts children to ask, "Why must I study this?" "What is the use of this stuff?" In reality the use of the "stuff of instruction" is threefold. (1) It is to help the child assimilate the complex civilization of which he is a part. (2) It is to help the child to discover that his civilization has been encumbered with that which is trivial, perverse and dead, and that it is his task to bring the weight of his knowledge and influence to bear upon their elimination. (3) Finally, it is the purpose of instruction to help the pupil escape from the limitations of his environment and to come into living contact with a broader environment. The Protestant needs to encounter the Jew, the Catholic should learn of the ways of the humanist. The Republican needs to understand the Democrat, and vice versa. It hardly needs to be added that the Russian should know the American and the American the Russian, or that the Frenchman needs to understand the Algerian and vice versa.

When engaged in the art of teaching, the instructor needs to have subject matter at his finger tips. The more he knows about his subject the more he can release his attention from his notes and direct his thinking toward the child, and the process of inquiry in which the child is engaged.

As for the child, he needs to be kept moving "in the direction of what the expert knows. Hence the need that the teacher know both the subject matter and the characteristic needs and capacities of the student."<sup>7</sup> Dewey conceived of the child as a product of biological and cultural continuity. Each child has certain potential for growth and it is the function of the school to take the pupil from where he is toward the thinking of the expert as rapidly as possible. The child is to be interested in instructional materials by causing him to see the meaning or significance of the material.

Interest to Dewey resided in things "between." By this he meant that it was the task of the teacher to discover objects and modes of action which were connected with

the "present powers" of the students. These "objects and modes of action" were but another name for subject matter and to the means for handling it. Interest was to come from matters of importance, not from "pleasant bait" or "soft pedagogy." To attach "seductiveness to material otherwise indifferent" deserved, in the opinion of Dewey, "to be stigmatized as 'soft' pedagogy; as a 'soup-kitchen' theory of education." Because learning takes time, pupils should learn to discipline their actions. Thus, said Dewey, "A person who is trained to consider his actions, to undertake them deliberately, is in so far disciplined. Add to this ability to endure in an intelligent course in the face of distraction, confusion, and difficulty, and you have the essence of discipline. Discipline means power at command; mastery of the resources available for carrying through the action undertaken."<sup>8</sup> This is "intellectual discipline" of which we hear so much, but see so infrequently defined or demonstrated. Intellectual discipline is learned through a course of instruction in which the student is placed in contact with vital subject matter and deals with this matter in a systematic and intelligent manner in the face of hard work, difficulties in finding ready answers and in spite of distraction, the confusion of detail, apparent conflicting generalizations and the absence of final and "absolute" solutions.

"Intellectual thoroughness is thus another name for the attitude we are considering," he wrote. "There is a kind of thoroughness which is almost purely physical: the kind that signifies mechanical and exhaustive drill upon all the details of a subject. Intellectual thoroughness is *seeing a thing through*. It depends upon a unity of purpose to which details are subordinated, not upon presenting a multitude of disconnected details. It is manifested in the firmness with which the full meaning of the purpose is developed, not in attention, however 'conscientious' it may be, to the steps of action externally imposed and directed."<sup>9</sup>

The third element in instruction, as Dewey saw it, was the "conditions for attaining

ends." Perhaps the best way to go at this matter is to say that for Dewey the method of education was the method of science.

Dewey believed that for life to continue it was necessary for the living thing (in this case man) to continue its activity and behavior through both adapting to and changing its environment of which it is a part. As a result experience must involve doing, acting, changing. An organism does not merely exist in a state of inactivity waiting for something to happen to it. Experience includes both sense stimulation and orderly investigation.

One may burn his hand as he attempts to snuff a candle with his index finger or thumb. This burn does not represent experience until there is a connection made between the lighted candle, the heat produced by the flame, the burn, and the pain. When the burn is seen to be the possible cause of pain, and when the burn is seen to be caused by too close contact or too slow reaction time, one can prevent a burn from the candle by limiting the amount of time the hand is in contact with the heat produced by the flame. Dewey summed up the whole affair in *Democracy and Education* when he concluded that: "(1) Experience is primarily an active-passive affair; it is not primarily cognitive. But (2) the *measure of the value* of an experience lies in the perception of relationships or continuities of which it leads up."<sup>10</sup>

The establishment of the relationships of which he speaks can most satisfactorily be brought about by the systematic applications of the steps involved in the scientific method, or the reflective process. Thinking becomes the intentional endeavor of a person to find the specific connections which exist between something that happens to him, or that he does, and the consequences which result. Reflective thinking is the process used to establish the connection that completes the act of experiencing. In a word, reflective thinking stands between perplexity and confusion and the post-reflective stage of mastery, satisfaction and application. This process includes normally:

1. Perplexity, confusion, doubt, due to the



fact that one is implicated in an incomplete situation whose full character is not yet known. This is called a problem situation.

2. A conjectural anticipation — a tentative interpretation of the given elements, attributing to them a tendency to effect certain consequences (hypothesis).
3. A careful study of all attainable considerations which will define and clarify the problem at hand (the rightful place of facts).
4. A consequent elaboration of the tentative hypothesis to make it more precise and more consistent, because squaring with a wider range of facts (reasoning).
5. Taking one stand upon the projected hypothesis as a plan of action which is applied to the existing state of affairs (application by overt action or means of imagination).

This reflective process which we have been describing, Pierce called the "laboratory habit of mind." It is the means by which students can discover the meaning of facts in a context of problem solving. It is the habit of mind we wish to have our students to carry with them as they leave school for it represents the means by which they can continue their education. It is the means for beginning to think like the expert. It is the method of the expert.

Thus it is concluded that this third concept of the problem of instruction involves the following steps:

1. The teacher determines what material is of most significance in his field.
2. The teacher estimates the potential of his students. He estimates their past experiences and learning potential.
3. Finally the teacher proceeds to lead the students. He does this by engaging them in a process of inquiry to which they are committed, i.e., interested. In the course of the investigation, the students handle the subject matter as they solve problems, using the methods of science.

This third view of instruction would appear to be more sound than the other two because it is more comprehensive. It takes into consideration the subject, the child, and the methods of science.

<sup>1</sup> Jean Jaques Rousseau, *Emile*. London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1911 Everyman's Library, 518, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> William J. Eckoff, *Herbert's A B C of Sense-Perception and Minor Pedagogical Works*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Chicago Sunday Tribune Magazine*, September 28, 1958.

<sup>4</sup> James Harvey Robinson, *The Mind in the Making*. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1921 p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*. New York: The Macmillan Company, p. 155.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

## The European Common Market, Its Sources, Nature, and Significance

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On January 1, 1959, the European Economic Community, better known as the European Common Market, came into being. The West European statesmen who fathered it are hopeful it will be a major turning point both toward the economic improvement

of western Europe and its political integration. It can mean for these countries a magnificent step forward economically or a colossal failure. For its designs are magnificent.

European countries have agreed to it only because they see themselves at a major turn-



ing of the roads. As one group of leading West European business men expressed it, "their problem is . . . how to change so that Europe can survive . . . They have come to realize that they must either die together . . . or survive together."<sup>1</sup> West Europeans are of course acutely aware of the growing strength and danger of Russia. But there is also a realization that West Europe, which had dominated the world economically, politically, and culturally since the Roman Empire, was losing its grip. We are here concerned only with its economic decline.

How has this economic backwardness and decay been shown? From the turn of the century, 1900 to 1929, West Europe's industrial production roughly doubled, as United States production increased  $3\frac{1}{3}$  times. But from 1929 to 1948 West Europe pushed ahead a puny 11% whereas United States was spurting forward 72%.<sup>2</sup> As of 1957 the new members of the European Common Market as a group, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, West Germany, France, and Italy, had a per capita production, 34% that of the United States. In the same year the remaining West European countries as a group had a per capita production 43% of ours.<sup>3</sup>

This article is to be particularly concerned with some of the causes for the economic decay of West Europe; and secondly with the nature and problem of the European Common Market. As it is an article for Social Science teachers, I wish to deal with the causes in somewhat more detail than might seem necessary. One of the great problems confronting the world today is that of increasing world economic productivity, especially for the underdeveloped, backward countries. Obviously West Europe is not backward, in this sense. We are beginning to realize that mass and class values, cultural practices and institutions can be of great importance in holding back economic progress, wherever we are. I wish to develop the theme that the decline of West Europe is as much related to such things as customs, values, cultural practices, and institutions, as it is to wars, depressions, and the Cold War.

Obviously World Wars I and II, and their

immediate aftermath played their part in the decline. Not only was there immense physical destruction. There was also destruction of economic and social relations, and of major economic institutions. Above and beyond there was a destruction of the spirit, a lack of willingness to change, to experiment, to take economic risks in expansion. Price inflation slowed up savings and long term lending. As a climactic aftermath came the closing down of the Russian Iron Curtain to trade. West Europe had found a large market for their manufactured products in East Europe; and it looked to East Europe for cheap raw materials, such as wheat, coal and lumber. As a result in 1945 its industries were producing the wrong kind of goods for the non-Communist markets, and paying more for their raw material.

Actually the economic climate of Europe has not been as favorable for economic progress as in the United States for the whole period since the Industrial Revolution. First we may point to the hangover of aristocratic values of the idle landholding aristocracy that had dominated Europe from the early Middle Ages to a few generations ago.<sup>4</sup> This aristocracy had long since lost their political and economic dominance, but their value system remained. Specifically we see these aristocratic values in the failure to assign bourgeois businessmen a place in the top social group. Careers in the government, army, the University, or the art of relaxation were a surer path to high status. European universities in turn have largely concentrated on training scholars and gentlemen. Engineering schools have never drawn the proportional numbers found in like American schools, and a University School of Business is still practically unknown.

European business men's actions reflected the desire to put on a gentleman's coat. Work was to be done leisurely with long lunch hours. A business man's country estate, so necessary for rising social status, was resorted to for long, pleasant weekends and for an early middle age retirement. Possibly this aristocratic attitude toward work has had some influence on the easy-going attitude

toward life and work of the common people of Southern Europe, with their long noon hours, and their many religious holidays.

Socially it was most respectable to manufacture luxury goods for a luxury market, as beautiful dresses, rare perfumes, fine furniture, quality cars, especially in France and Italy. Whatever his business, the merchant must keep competition with his rivals within gentlemanly limits. Thus it was both gentlemanly and profitable to maintain high prices and profit margins on luxury goods for the upper classes. He saw no point in raising wages to labor, since they never bought his products.

An article in the London *Economist*, July 1953, sums up this difference in American and European attitudes toward business:

"The real secret of American productivity is that American society is imbued through and through with the desirability, the rightness, and the morality of production. Men serve God in America, in all seriousness and sincerity through striving for economic efficiency. But in Britain, if any moral feeling at all survives about economic matters, it is usually a vague suspicion that economic success is reprehensible and unworthy. From this difference in attitudes everything else follows."<sup>5</sup>

It might be suggested that this attitude is even more true in France and Italy, but possibly less true in Germany at present.

Probably the much more rigid aristocratic structure of West European society accounts for a bigger gap between labor and employers. West European employers on the one hand have been much less appreciative than American employers that high wages to labor furnishes in the long run a better home market for their goods. West European labor on the other hand, seeing less chance of rising in the socio-economic ladder, are more inclined to become a class conscious group sensitive to possible employer exploitation. Again it is suggested that this would be especially true in France and Italy, somewhat less true in Germany, and least true in England. As a result a high proportion of

West European labor is either socialist or Communist in their political views.<sup>6</sup>

Out of an old stable society background comes a feeling for stability, no change. Thus we hear complaints that English, French, and Italian business men especially have had little interest in expansion, or in bothering with new innovations, just as long as the owners received an income sufficient to keep up their own social status. A strong individualism, especially seen in France, opposes the merging of family-owned farms, stores, and factories into those of efficient operating size.

Wars, depression, and general economic decay strengthen the desire for security and the fear of risk taking. Labor has fought technological changes that might bring unemployment. Small and large businesses entered into cartel agreements to limit production. Small, inefficient industries, hard pressed by foreign competition, sought the protection of tariff barriers to secure themselves against economic change. Thus the needed contraction of luxury and textile industries, the needed expansion of the metal, machinery, and coal industries, and the pressing technological renovation of all industries were delayed.

At the end of World War II, West Europe was almost ready to throw in its economic towel. Its industries, railroads, and mines were impaired, and millions of its man power were killed. Its industrial production was drastically below pre-war level. Communism was making great inroads among its workers, especially in France and Italy. The Fall of the Iron Curtain ended hopes of resumption of old trade channels to East Europe.

In this black economic hour, with gold and credit almost gone for needed foreign purchases, the Marshall Aid Program, as proposed by General Marshall June, 1947, seemed like the appearance of a life belt to a drowning man. From 1948 onward we poured billions into Europe for their railroads, power plants, mines, industry, and agricultural renovation. A new economic spirit rose from the ashes of despair.

In three years' time, 1948-1951, in the

countries receiving this aid, steel production rose 41%, electrical production rose 34%, coal production rose 21% (much too slowly), and total industrial activity rose 38% compared to a 16% rise in the United States.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to funds, the United States sent teams of engineers, technicians scientists, and management experts to hold seminars with European business men. Teams of Europeans from various industries visited their American counterparts to see our methods and machinery at close hand. Europeans were amazed at the willingness of American corporations to freely share their trade and engineering secrets with competitors. But they could see that this trade secret exchange was another factor in our rapid technological advance.<sup>8</sup>

Out of this economic and political crisis and the quick economic spurt upwards, West European leaders came under a conviction of economic sin, leading to the emotional and intellectual decision that they must turn to good works. For it was becoming more and more obvious that the political and military power of the United States and Russia was broadly based on economic power. If the West European nations were not to be a group of second rate "has-beens," dancing to the tune of the United States and Russia, heroic measures of economic revival must be taken.

The programs advocated and adopted reflected certain economic convictions as to the best methods to speed up production. (1) European industry must be helped, if need be forced, to be brought up to date in technological and management methods. (2) The steel, coal, and other energy industries must be expanded as the basic foundations for all others. (3) Political tariff boundaries must be broken down to find mass markets to make possible mass market efficiencies such as they saw in the United States. (4) The Adam Smith free enterprise economy must be revitalized through competition and specialization. Thus anti-monopoly policies should be instituted and enforced at home. Secondly the lowering of tariff barriers would

encourage more international competition, and the expansion of the better located and more efficient industries. Internal and international policies to implement this program were found to a varying extent in most of West Europe in the 1950's.<sup>9</sup> The success of this program is seen in the rise of industrial production in West Europe from 1951 to 1957. In those six years United States industrial production advanced around 3% a year, as did that of Belgium and England. But the muddle-headed French, with all their political anarchy, advanced 8% a year, as did the Italians; while West Germany outshone them all with a yearly advance of 12%.<sup>10</sup>

But as the leaders promoted the policies of their own nations, they gradually became convinced that the West European countries must act in closer cooperation. I can only give a partial list of these economic cooperative undertakings. (1) The Organization for European Economic Cooperation, set up by West European countries to administer the Marshall Aid Plan, and is still actively at work in exchanging technological and economic information. (2) GAAAT, the world organization for lowering world tariffs, in which West European countries were active. (3) The European Payments Union performed quite successfully the role of a quasi-West European banker in making international loans for trade balancing purposes. (4) Benelux was an embryo European Common Market composed of Belgium, Netherlands and Luxemburg to lower economic barriers between themselves, which after 12 years of experimentation, really began to click about 1957. (5) The negotiations of the Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, for a tariff union were just beginning to bear fruit in the last few years.

In some ways the nature of the 1959 Common Market was most influenced by the successful operation of the European Coal and Steel Community (sometimes called the Schuman Plan). Taking in the same six countries as the Common Market, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg, West Germany, France, and Italy, it provided for the lowering of all trade barriers on the movement of



coal and steel between these countries; and even more significantly, a sort of super-international government in the field of coal and steel to promote its total expansion as a foundation for all West European industry. Under its auspices steel production rose a remarkable 51% in four years.<sup>11</sup>

The growing success of the Coal and Steel Community coincided with the demonstrated political weakness of West Europe as seen in the breakdown of negotiations for the European Defense Community in 1954, and the Suez Canal fiasco in the fall of 1956. To West European statesmen, it looked like the road of radical economic integration offered the greatest possibilities to attain greater economic and political strength.

The resulting European Economic Community (or Common Market) attempted to set up a program for industry in general in the six countries of the Coal and Steel Community, as was successfully in operation for steel and coal. Discussions starting in 1956 resulted in a treaty by 1957, and an agreement to start the plan, January 1, 1959.<sup>12</sup> Its outstanding purpose was to invigorate the economic health of West Europe by breaking down economic barriers, and deliberately attempting to reconstruct its industrial pattern for more efficient and expanded production.

The provisions for the European Economic Community, as it is technically known, are almost breathtaking in their implication.<sup>13</sup> Over the next twelve to fifteen years the six countries will attempt gradually to merge into a single economic unit through elimination of economic barriers between them. There will be four stages of tariff reductions, the first of which started January 1st of this year. They will attempt to strengthen this integration through a common tariff policy against the outside world, with rates set at the average of the six countries involved. This common tariff policy is a cause of some concern to outside nations.

In two years, through progressive stages, discrimination against business and labor moving freely from one country to another will gradually be eliminated. Cheap Italian labor, for instance, will be free to compete

with high wage Belgium labor in Belgium. The efficiently managed West German businesses will be free to move branches to France, a land in the past of free and easy business habits. The principle of equal pay for equal work for men and women is to be applied throughout the Community. Perceiving the radical adjustments that are ahead, a Community Investment Bank will help channel capital funds to areas where they can best promote efficient and expanding production. To help relieve possible worker hardships due to trade liberalization, a Social Fund is to attempt either occupational retraining, resettlement allowances, or unemployment compensation.

Monopolistic cartels that prevent healthy, vigorous competition are to be eliminated unless they can prove they contribute to Community progress. The member countries agree to coordinate internal monetary and fiscal policies to stop the spreading of local inflations or depressions that might upset their unity. As we see the program as a whole we find not merely an attempt to set up a free trade area, but an ambitious project to economically remold the whole Community.

With the centuries of conflict between Germany and France as a backdrop, the sovereign-type rights given to the government of the Economic Community are quite impressive. Thus there is a Council of Ministers, one from each country who are in the cabinets of each country. This group will have the final say on major policy decisions. Normally, it would appear, a majority vote will be sufficient on matters of enforcement of previously accepted policies. For the setting up of new important policies, there are various provisions for unanimous vote, weighted votes, or  $\frac{2}{3}$  majorities. Legally the orders of the Council to the separate national governments, so long as they are within their jurisdiction, seem to be mandatory.

The actual day-by-day operation of Community affairs will be in the hands of an executive Commission, having 9 members only two of which can be from one state. Normally this Commission will take the initiative in the making of long run policy rec-

ommendations to the Council, but the Council decides. Finally there are provisions for a large Assembly of 142 delegates which will eventually be elected directly by popular vote. This independent selection could become quite significant. Most of the Assembly's duties are advisory in connection with debating the report of the Commission. Probably their most potent power is to force the resignation of the Commission on the basis of a  $\frac{2}{3}$  majority vote of censure. Finally there is to be a Court of Justice. Like our Supreme Court it will be an interpreter of the articles, with a major duty to keep the various agencies of the Community within their legal powers.<sup>14</sup>

At this early date it is probably not too important to be concerned with the details of government. The actualities of power are still with the six countries concerned. Unless the Community can gain acceptance through its fruits, its paper powers and setup may prove no more than that. In a sense we can say that the leaders are gambling on the hope that with the improved new economic climate, as the more efficient industries and areas expand their production, there need not be much contraction in those industries and areas which, as of the present, are less efficient.

England and the Scandinavian countries, Spain, Portugal, Austria, and Switzerland, the major West European countries outside the Russian Iron Curtain have been left out for a number of reasons. Probably the chief overriding reasons are two. (1) The Common Market countries felt that if their group became too large in its early stages, it would not be able to make the difficult economic adjustments. Especially were France and Italy afraid of increased English competition. (2) The non-member countries were willing to work toward a common free trade area for all West Europe. But they were not ready for its more radical proposals such as (a) a common tariff against all other countries that could injure outside trade relations; (b) the free movement of capital and labor within the free trade area; or (c) the

setting up of unified fiscal and credit policies.<sup>15</sup>

England took the leadership in the summer of 1959 in the formation of the "Outer Free Trade Area" consisting of England, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Portugal, which is more purely a tariff union. At the time of the writing of this article only the general principles governing an eventual treaty had been laid down. Press releases indicate it will provide for eventual free trade between all of its members; but with each reserving the right to have its own level of rates against the rest of the world. There are now indications that nearly all of the nations in the Organization for Economic Cooperation which received Marshall Aid will be in one or the other of the two groups. Both sides are expressing hopes of cooperation between the two groups, and fears that if they do not, a trade war might result.<sup>16</sup>

The problems of the Economic Community are really enormous. In the past, under high tariffs or other trade barriers, each country has developed relatively inefficient industries that can only exist with such protection. With tariffs removed, we can expect the more efficiently located industries to expand; but possibly we may see the less efficient contracting or falling by the wayside. There are plans for aiding in the technological renovation of the less efficient, and for attempting to bring new industries to adversely affected areas, and to those now relatively backward. In some northern countries, labor and industries fear competition from low wage industries, and also from emigration north of cheap labor, especially from Italy. France is somewhat uneasy about competition with more efficient West Germany. It will be the task of the Economic Community to try to soften and direct the adjustments made.<sup>17</sup>

A greater political unity in dealing with such economic problems as budget balancing and bank credit control will be needed to secure a common policy on inflation and depression. Price inflation in one country will tend to cut its export sales to other member countries, but encourage it to buy more, leading immediately to a balance of trade prob-

lem. This inflation will also spread much more quickly to the others through their closer relationship. Due to the same cause, local depressions will spread to the others more quickly, as lack of buying power in any country will effect the sales of the other. Thus inevitably there will be pressure for greater political unity of their cabinets, their legislative bodies, and their administrative departments if the problems of the Economic Community are to be successfully solved.

It is obviously too early yet to make predictions of success or failure. But certainly the present governments, and the leading business men are strongly determined to do everything possible to secure this success.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From "Statement of Objectives by the European Committee for Economic and Social Progress" reprinted in Committee for Economic Development, *The European Common Market*, (Pamphlet) N.Y. 1959, pp 67-68.

<sup>2</sup> Organization for European Economic Co-Operation, *Industrial Statistics, 1900-1955*, p. 4. The statistics for West Europe are really for the 15 countries in this Organization, including Austria and Greece, hardly in West Europe.

<sup>3</sup> Com. Econ. Develop., *European Common Market*, Chart p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> This interpretation of West European economic backwardness comes particularly from the following sources: Ingvar Svennilson, *Growth and Stagnation in the European Economy*, Geneva, 1954, especially chp. 3, 4 and 5; United Nations Research and Planning Commission for Europe, *Economic Survey of Europe Since the War*, Geneva, 1953, especially chp. 8-12; William Elliott and others, *The Political Economy of American Foreign Policy*, N.Y. 1955, especially chp. 3; William Schlamm, "European Business is Different," *Fortune*, Vol. 41, (Feb. 1950) p. 97ff; Robert C. Line, "Production Problems of Western Europe," *Collegiate News and Views*, Vol. 5,

(March 1952), pp. 7-10, 13; Theo. H. White, "Pinay to Mayer to Whom? etc.," *The Reporter*, Vol. 8, (March 3, 1953) pp. 12-16.

<sup>5</sup> "The Riddle of Prosperity," *The Economist* (London) 168:80, July 1, 1953.

<sup>6</sup> Mario Einaudi, "Communism in Western Europe," *Yale Review*, 41:234-246, Winter 1951-1952.

<sup>7</sup> Organization for European Economic Co-Operation, *Industrial Statistics, 1900-1955*, pp. 4, 28, 53, 63.

<sup>8</sup> Harry B. Price, *The Marshall Plan and Its Meaning* (Ithaca, 1955) pp. 107-108, 139, 156.

<sup>9</sup> Edmond Taylor, "The Good News From France," *Reporter*, Vol. 17, August 8, 1957 p. 28; Gilbert Burk, "Can Germany Go Capitalist," *Fortune*, Vol. 49, April, 1954 p. 114ff; Gilbert Burk, "The German Business Mind," *Fortune*, Vol. 49, May, 1954 pp.111ff; "German Cartel Bill—End of an Era," *The Times* (London) July 4, 1957, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> United Nations, *Statistical Yearbook, 1958, For France and Germany*, pp. 103, 105, 106, 108.

<sup>11</sup> Franklin R. Root, and others, *The European Coal and Steel Community*. Studies in Business and Economics IX, 3, Dec. 1955. Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of Maryland, as to nature of Community. United Nations, *Statistical Yearbook, 1958*, pp. 237-238 on steel production rise.

<sup>12</sup> Com. Econ. Development, *European Common Market*, pp. 27-29.

<sup>13</sup> Com. Econ. Develop., *European Common Market*, pp. 92-113, Appendix A for a detailed summary of the provisions of the treaty.

<sup>14</sup> A. H. Robertson, *European Institutions, Co-Operation, Integration, Unification*, (New York, 1959) pp. 156-171 for an excellent description of the government of the Community.

<sup>15</sup> Com. Econ. Develop., *European Common Market*, p. 39-47.

<sup>16</sup> "Free Trade Writ Small," *The Economist*, (London) 192:275-6, August 1, 1959.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Marjolin, "Prospects for the European Common Market," *Foreign Affairs* 36:133-137, October, 1957.

<sup>18</sup> "The Quiet Revolution," *Time*, 73:28, June 8, 1959 on business enthusiasm. See also The European Committee for Economic and Social Progress, "Statement of Objectives" issued in cooperation with the United States Committee for Economic Development, *European Common Market*, pp. 64-91. This statement is by a committee of European businessmen formed in 1952 for Western European economic development.

## The Teachers' Page

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Northeast High School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL PLANS OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

The following study was prepared by Mrs. Cora Hurwitz, College Guidance Adviser at Northeast High School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. We present it not only because of the wide interest in this area, but because it reflects significant aspects of the thinking of our young people with respect to career

selection at a time they have reached a major dividing line in their lives—the end of childhood and the beginning of adulthood.

Graduation from senior high school marks the end of the educational experience planned for our young people by the state. From this point on, they are free to work full time or to continue their formal learning according to their interest and finances.



What decisions do our high school graduates make about further education and immediate employment? A survey of post high school plans would vary greatly with the economic setting and social aspirations of the community, as well as the value placed on high education. In some senior high schools over 80% are probably planning to continue their education; in others, over 80% are probably seeking full time jobs.

Northeast High School serves a relatively new residential community in Philadelphia. Most students come from homes in which the parents work at white collar jobs or in their own businesses. Post high school education is considered an important avenue to success.

The 783 graduates of the Class of June 1960 were asked about their post high school plans a week prior to their commencement. This was done by taking time from a graduation rehearsal to have each member of the class complete a signed questionnaire in which he listed appropriate choices about educational and vocational plans. To insure completeness, these questionnaires were checked against a list of graduates. The absentees were contacted by telephone.

The survey produced the following information:

Planning to enter college or nursing school .....	374	48%
Admitted to college or nursing school .....	320	41%
Applied to college .....	54	7%
Planning to attend business or technical school .....	87	11%
Planning to work at a full time job .....	286	36%
Planning to enter the armed forces .....	26	3%
Planning to marry and stay at home .....	0	
Undecided .....	7	1%
Unable to locate .....	3	
Total .....	783	99%

Almost half of the members of the Class of June 1960 planned to enter college or nursing school in September 1960, and almost 85% of them had secured places in college or nursing school classes by the time of their high school graduation. The 54 not yet admitted included a group who decided to apply to college very late, and a group who had been refused admission by the colleges of their first choice. Some of the latter group will undoubtedly be forced to accept training on the technical school level or enter im-

mediately into full time employment. The 374 aspirants to college or nursing school included 241 boys and 133 girls.

Northeast High School will be represented in the freshman classes of 56 colleges and nursing schools.

For the group admitted to college, the leading occupational choice was teaching, with 71 students (61 of them girls), planning to enter this field. An equal number (26) have indicated interest in elementary and secondary education, with an additional six students planning to teach physical education. Tied for second choice were business and engineering. Forty-three graduates planned to enter schools of commerce, with 16 specifying accounting as their probable major. A group of 43 boys including some of the ablest students in the class, were planning to become engineers. Another area of vocational interest was in the medical services, including pre-medical training (21), pre-dental training (12), pharmacy (12), nursing (12), medical technology (3), and physical therapy. Still other career choices included chemistry (14), mathematics (6), art (14), architecture (2), pre-theology (3), home economics (4), psychology, advertising and meteorology. Many of the choices were tentative, subject to change within the next few months or weeks. Indeed, a group of 22 students stated simply that they were entering a liberal arts program, and 3 others classified themselves as undecided about career choice.

Almost 10% of the class had scholarship assistance for further education. A group of 72 students won a total of 85 scholarships or grants-in-aid. Although only one graduate won a scholarship in national competition, many won them in regional competition or directly from the colleges concerned. Among the colleges which awarded scholarships to Northeast graduates in 1960 were Bryn Mawr, Brandeis, Case Institute of Technology, Cornell, Drexel (3), Lafayette, New York University, Pennsylvania State University (3), Pratt Institute, St. John's, Swarthmore, University of Pennsylvania

(4), Ursinus, Yale, and Yeshiva University (2). Other scholarships won by members of this class included a Scholastic Art Scholarship, a Union League Scholarship, a Bulletin (local newspaper) Scholarship, and a Pennsylvania Railroad Scholarship. Two of the boys received appointments to the United States Air Force Academy, and five boys won scholarships in engineering from the United States Naval Development and Research Center at Johnsville.

The 87 graduates who planned to continue their education on a non-college level included 25 students who expected to get training in business subjects and 24 girls who wanted to become medical technicians. Thirteen boys planned to study electronics, and 8 boys expected to go to preparatory school before seeking college admission. Other choices were widely scattered, including printing, drafting, photography, auto mechanics, and technical illustration. These young people were going to 25 different schools and hospitals, all within the Philadelphia area.

A group of 286 graduates, including 87 boys and 199 girls, planned to enter full time employment upon graduation, most of them in office work or sales. More than half of the girls in the class (54%) were in this category. The students expressed their preferences as follows:

General clerical work and typing .....	115
Stenography .....	42
Office machine operation .....	25
Bookkeeping .....	24
Sales .....	24

A group of 27, all boys, were interested in obtaining jobs as mechanics, with auto mechanics and machinists being the most popular choices. Nine boys wanted jobs in manual labor. Miscellaneous jobs included those of farmer, exterminator, dental assistant, baker and model. Six were undecided about the kind of job they would seek.

As of June 7, 1960, 121 of those seeking full-time employment had already found their jobs.

In the Class of June 1960, 26 boys had chosen to enter the military service for a term of enlistment. Although several girls were planning to marry, no one expected to

become a full-time housewife immediately.

In general, the Class of June 1960 continued the educational and vocational pattern set by previous Northeast graduates.

#### GRADUATES ADMITTED TO COLLEGE OR NURSING SCHOOL CAREER CHOICE

	Boys	Girls
Accounting .....	16	
Advertising .....	1	
Air Force Training .....	2	
Architecture .....	2	
Art .....	7	7
Biology .....	2	2
Business Administration .....	24	3
Chemistry .....	11	3
Engineering .....	43	
English .....		1
Home Economics .....		4
Mathematics .....	4	2
Medical Technology .....		3
Microbiology .....		1
Meteorology .....	1	
Music .....	3	2
Nursing .....		12
Pharmacy .....	11	1
Physical Therapy .....		1
Physics .....	2	
Political Science .....	1	
Pre-Dentistry .....	12	
Pre-Law .....	5	1
Pre-Medical Sciences .....	20	1
Pre-Social Work .....		3
Pre-Theology .....	3	
Psychology .....	3	4
Radio and T.V. ....		1
Teaching .....	10	61
Liberal Arts .....	13	9
Undecided .....	2	1
Totals .....	196	124

#### TABLE OF INFORMATION ABOUT STUDENTS APPLIED BUT NOT YET ADMITTED TO COLLEGE

##### RANK BY QUINTILES

First quintile .....	2
Second quintile .....	0
Third quintile .....	13
Fourth quintile .....	13
Fifth quintile .....	26
Total .....	54

##### I.Q. (AS OF 9B)

##### OF THOSE NOT YET ADMITTED

90 - 100 .....	2
100 - 109 .....	19
110 - 119 .....	21
120 - 129 .....	3
130 - 139 .....	1
Not available .....	8
Total .....	54

It is significant that of those not yet admitted to college, 26 or half, were in the bottom quintile of the class.

#### GRADUATES PLANNING TO ATTEND TECHNICAL SCHOOLS CAREER CHOICE

	Boys	Girls
Art (technical illustration) .....	1	
Auto mechanics .....	2	

Beauty culture .....	1	1
Business .....	13	12
Drafting .....	1	
Dental assistant .....		2
Electronics .....	13	
Machine design .....	3	
Optical training .....	1	
Photography .....	1	
Printing .....	1	
Preparatory school .....	8	
Psychology .....	1	
Technician (medical, radiological) .....		24
Technician (x-ray) .....		2
Total .....	46	41

Considering the plans of these young people as a group, one notes encouragingly that a majority of them are planning to continue their formal education. They will help to meet the needs of a society that is constantly demanding greater numbers of professional and skilled workers.

However, some of these youngsters have failed to recognize their own abilities and limitations. Half of the group of college aspirants who had not yet been admitted to college by the time of their high school graduation, stood in the bottom fifth of their class in scholarship. Since they represented the least successful group in high school achievement, should they aim for careers requiring concentrated academic study? On the other hand, 15 girls who graduated in the top decile of the class in scholarship were planning to end their formal education with graduation.

As a group, these graduates are planning to enter occupations with excellent employment opportunities. Teaching, engineering, accounting, and the medical services are all areas in which society needs their services. Because of the high turnover and the creation of new jobs, the clerical workers will find employment with relative ease.

However, one wishes for a wider spread of occupational choice. Almost half of the girls going to college are planning to become teachers; more than half of the girls taking technical training will be medical technicians; a majority of those seeking immediate employment want general clerical work and typing. No girl wants to be a librarian, a dietitian, a statistician, or a journalist.

While the study indicates that these gradu-

ates are responding to our social needs, it creates doubts as to whether they are meeting their own individual needs. Some seem to need more information about their own abilities so they may find satisfactory careers at their true achievement levels. Others need much more information about career opportunities. They need to examine their own aptitudes and proficiencies in terms of the satisfactions that many occupations may give them before making career choices.

#### COMMENT

A person has many decisions to make during his lifetime. Of these, two are probably the most important, in terms of his ultimate happiness. One concerns his choice of a mate; the other has to do with his choice of a career or a vocation. The above study represents what were educational-vocational decisions of a relatively typical group of young people in a middle economic community. Were these decisions wise ones? Just from the study of the charts, and from our past experience with young people, it is safe to say that some of the young people are on the wrong vocational track. Some youngsters at graduation time are too immature, some confused, some too much under the influence of status-seeking parents, to really be able to make the choice that would best fit in with their occupational potentialities and best meet their personality needs. This whole area of guiding young people into making wise and intelligent educational and vocational plans is one that needs increasing attention by our schools.

\* \* \*

William V. Badger of Columbus, Ohio, has compiled the following list of recent social science theses which may be of interest to those doing research in the field:

Horn, Ernest W. *An analysis of the opinions of Indiana secondary social studies teachers concerning the fifth year of teacher education.* Indiana, 1956

Al-Hassun, A-R. I. *The social studies programs in the Iraqi public secondary schools.* Stanford, 1956



- Routh, Mary R. *Understanding of certain social science concepts in relation to sociometric status of sixth grade children.* Pittsburgh, 1956
- McDowell, Victor D. *An evaluation of the uses of commercial television as an audiovisual aid in the teaching of social studies in selected public secondary schools in the Chicago area.* Northwestern, 1956
- Knapp, Henry W. *Influences of school size and consistency of instruction on achievement in English and History of 1954 graduates of small Montana high schools.* Nebraska, 1956
- Rambeau, John F. *Social science generalizations for use in the social studies curriculum: transporting people and goods.* Stanford, 1957
- McLean, Wm. T. *A history of citizenship education in Oregon's public schools.* Stanford, 1957
- Watrous, Mary W. *An exploratory investigation in correlating ninth grade English and Social Studies in the regularly scheduled class periods in the Lewis and Clark High School in Spokane, Washington.* Washington, 1956
- Hallman, George H. *The content and the interrelations of the social sciences in general education programs in selected colleges in the South.* Minnesota, 1957
- Deam, Calvin W. *Opinions of Virginia schoolmen concerning the treatment of controversial issues.* Indiana, 1957
- Andrews, Clay S. *Social science generalizations for use in the social studies curriculum: organizing and governing* Stanford, 1957
- Stratton, Vinton S. *Social science generalizations for use in the social studies: providing education.* Stanford, 1957
- Wilson, Herbert B. *The evaluation of social action education programs.* Stanford, 1957
- Durkin, Mary D. *Children's concept of certain aspects of justice.* Illinois, 1957
- Johnson, John A. *A study of the teachers and their assignments in Minnesota secondary schools.* Colorado, 1956
- Emmerson, Harold G. *Social science generalizations for use in the social studies curriculum: providing recreation.* Stanford, 1957
- Evans, Samuel W. *An evaluation of the Oklahoma statutory requirement in American History at the University of Oklahoma, 1945-1955.* Oklahoma, 1957
- Risinger, Robert G. *An investigation of the core curriculum in the junior high schools of the United States.* Colorado, 1956
- Hood, Albert B. *Certain non-intellectual factors related to student attrition at Cornell University.* Cornell, 1957
- Cruikshanks, Andrew N. *The social studies curriculum in the secondary school: 1893-1955.* Stanford, 1957
- Rockowitz, Murray. *Student liking for textbooks in relation to their readability.* New York, 1957
- DeWitt, Charles M. *The extent of the relationship between theory and practice in the teaching of the social studies in the elementary school.* Maryland, 1957
- Sabaroff, Rose E. *A framework for developing map skills in primary grade social studies.* Stanford, 1957
- Gibbony, Richard A. *An experiment to determine the relationship between socioeconomic status and achievement in the social studies.* Peabody, 1957
- Gustafson, Lucile. *Relationship between ethnic group membership and the retention of selected facts pertaining to American history and culture.* New York, 1957
- Hibbs, Clyde W. *An analysis of the development and use of outdoor laboratories in teaching conservation in public schools.* Michigan, 1957
- Hall, Truman L. *A study of controversial issues in the secondary schools of the state of Ohio.* Ohio State, 1953
- Coze, Ross M. *A suburban school system faculty looks at and improves its program in social studies for children and youth.* Wayne State, 1957
- Devitt, Joseph J. *The relative importance of United States history concepts in general education programs at the secondary school level.* Boston, 1958
- Donaldson, LeRoy J. *An evaluative study of*

- the federally reimbursable part-time co-operative distributive education programs in the public secondary schools of Illinois.*  
Iowa, 1958
- Mose, Ashriel I. *To what extent do certain factors influence the academic success of freshman students in social science courses at South Carolina State College.*  
New York, 1957
- Elmlinger, Charles E. *An administrative framework for the development of the social studies program in the elementary schools of Nebraska.* Nebraska, 1958
- Pitts, Raymond J. *An analysis and evaluation of supplementary teaching materials found in selected secondary school textbooks.*  
Michigan, 1957
- Ryan, Louis A. *Judgments in selected American Introductory Sociology Textbooks, 1947-1950.* Ohio State, 1957
- Christie, Arthur. *Certain historic concepts of the American way of life with implications for the foundations of curriculum and teaching.* Florida, 1958
- Hoyt, Daniel B. *A follow-up study of intellectually superior graduates of University High School, State University of Iowa, from 1940 through 1954, with emphasis upon the social studies.* Iowa, 1958
- Stromnes, Martin. *A theory of curriculum construction centering in the natural and social sciences.* Stanford, 1958
- Reinbold, Emma J. *A study of the relationship between emotional adjustment and school citizenship.* Temple, 1958
- Schilling, Arlo L. *Opinions of high school seniors toward recent proposed changes in American education.* Purdue, 1958
- Jones, Jr., Robert L. *A study of ethical discriminatory abilities among selected high school students.* Indiana, 1958
- Sober, Anabel. *The preparation of student teachers in the Social Studies Department in the School of Education in New York University.* New York, 1958
- Jones, Annie L. *Graded study guides for sixth grade social studies.* Boston, 1958
- Tavel, David Z. *A comparative study of secondary school social studies in Peru and Chile.* Boston, 1958
- Millis, George H. *Fifth-grade pupils' understanding of terms encountered in their social studies texts.* Illinois, 1959
- Luz, John E. *Teaching methods and activities used by social studies teachers rated as superior by their administrators.*  
Nebraska, 1959
- Georgiady, Nicholas P. *Vocabulary growth in the elementary social studies as influenced by the use of selected audio-visual materials.* Wisconsin, 1959
- Sloan, Fred A. *Readability of social studies textbooks for grades four, five and six, as measured by the Dale-Chall Formula.*  
Peabody, 1959
- Herber, Harold L. *An inquiry into the effect of instruction in critical thinking upon students in grades ten, eleven and twelve.*  
Boston, 1959
- Allen, Dwight W. *Evaluation in social studies classrooms: ideals and practices.*  
Stanford, 1959
- Lee, Yung D. *The contributions of the Ohio State University School to a proposal for the development of Core Programs in the Campus Secondary Schools of Korea.*  
Ohio State, 1959
- Arnsdorf, Val E. *An investigation of teaching of chronology in the sixth grade.*  
Minnesota, 1959
- Fortress, Lillian F. *A suggested guide to the use of paintings as resources in the social studies for the middle grades.*  
New York, 1959
- Visher, Halene H. *A determination of conservation principles and concepts desirable for use in the secondary schools.*  
Indiana, 1960
- Babcock, Norman R. *An evaluation of learning experiences especially designed for the teaching of work-study skills at the fifth grade level.* Kansas, 1959
- King, James H. *A critical analysis of experimental doctoral research in teaching secondary school social studies, 1941-1957.*  
Colorado, 1959
- Haffner, Hyman. *A study of vocabulary load and social-concept burden of fifth and sixth grade Social Studies, History and Geography Textbooks.* Pittsburgh, 1959

# Instructional Materials

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mount Vernon, New York

## NEW MATERIALS

**How-to-Do-It.** For social studies teachers interested in vitalizing their classroom procedures, this series published by the National Council for Social Studies, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., will be of invaluable use (\$2.50 for the entire series) or 25 cents each:

- How To Use A Motion Picture
- How To Use A Local History
- How To Use A Daily Newspaper
- How To Use Recordings
- How To Conduct A Field Trip
- How To Handle Controversial Issues
- How To Introduce Maps and Globes
- How To Plan for Student Teaching
- How To Work With the Academically Talented
- How To Use A Textbook;
- How To Use A Bulletin Board
- How To Use Group Discussion
- How To Use Oral Reports
- How To Utilize Community Resources
- How To Study A Class
- How To Use Multiple Books
- How To Use Sociodrama

**1961 U.N. Calendar.** Contains 12 beautifully reproduced full-color photos of selected U.N. Headquarters scenes, each photo hinged on a spiral binder and facing a calendar page with adequate space for noting daily engagements. Sale. \$1.25. U.S. Committee for the U.N., 816 21st St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

**Teaching Aids on Japan.** Japan Society, Inc., 112 E. 64th St., New York 21, New York, has revised its teaching aids entitled "Japan—A Packet for Teachers" to make them more suitable for various grade levels of instruction. The result is a kit of teaching materials especially designed for elementary, junior as well as senior high school teachers.

## FILMS

**Physical Regions of Canada.** 23 min. Black and white. Sale. The National Film Board of Canada, Canada House, 680 Fifth Ave., New York 19. An introduction to the

physical and economic geography of Canada showing the six natural divisions: the Pacific Coast region, the Great Plains, the Laurentian Shield, the St. Lawrence Lowlands, the Atlantic region and the Arctic Islands. In each region the film relates the topography, climate, and natural resources to the industries or occupations of the people.

**The Precambrian Shield.** 25 min. Black and white. Sale. The National Film Board of Canada. Canada's treasure trove—the vast Laurentian Shield, lying in an enormous semi-circle around Hudson Bay. Presents typical scenes of the industries, occupations, and natural resources of the regions.

**The Great Lakes — St. Lawrence Lowlands.** 23 min. Black and white. Sale. The National Film Board of Canada. Shows how the thickly populated St. Lawrence Lowlands have grown from a region of agricultural settlements into Canada's industrial heartland, similar in many ways to the adjacent area of the U.S.

**The Magic Cup.** 27 min. Color. Free loan. Modern Talking Picture Service, Inc., 3 East 54th St., New York 22, N.Y. The colorful story of coffee: its growth, processing, and importance in world trade . . . with tips on proper brewing of coffee and the preparation of coffee drinks. (Sponsored film.)

**The New Story of Milk.** 27 min. Color. Free loan. Modern Talking Picture Service, Inc. From the "early days" to automation in processing and packaging of milk—a history of the modern dairy industry, told by global reporter Bob Considine. (Sponsored film.)

**Modern Magazines.** 27 min. Color. Free loan. Modern Talking Picture Service, Inc. The story behind the editing, production,



and distribution of big national magazines, in a visit to one of the world's famous publishing plants.

*Paper in the Making.* 24 min. Color. Free loan. Modern Talking Picture Service, Inc. Tons of paper for every use are made before your eyes in this fascinating account of the entire paper-making process, filmed in the giant mills. (Sponsored film.)

*African Rhythms.* 19 min. Color. Free loan. Association Films, Inc. Broad at Elm St., Ridgefield, N.J. Rhythmic jungle drums, haunting native chants, exciting tribal ceremonial dances—authentically photographed and recorded in Liberia, West Africa.

*A Letter to Moscow.* 28½ min. Color. Free loan. Association Films, Inc. Presents our living heritage . . . the people and ideas that have built our nation. Vividly contrasts America with Russia.

*Mr. O'Flynn's 50 Million Wheels.* 25 min. Free loan. Association Films, Inc. How the 50 million wheels of America's trucks keep products, goods and services on the move.

*Country of Islam.* 16 min. Color. Black and white. Sale. Churchill-Wexler Film Productions, 801 North Seward St., Los Angeles, Calif. A picture of Morocco told with intimacy rarely captured in a Moslem land. It is a story of Mustafa who leaves his village and journeys to a city to seek an education, and his acceptance into a new life, new friends, and new school. This film is also the vehicle for a consideration of the country's economy, culture, and religion.

#### FILMSTRIPS

*The Anti-Slavery Crusade.* 44 fr. Black and white. Sale. Heritage Filmstrips, Inc., 89-11 63rd Drive, Rego Park 74, New York. A sweeping survey of the world struggle against slavery culminating in the 19th century anti-slavery movements in the U.S. The development of pro and anti-slavery feeling is traced with stress on the

shattering effects the Civil War had on the institution.

*Popular Sovereignty — USA.* 42 fr. Black and white. Sale. Heritage Filmstrips, Inc. Analyzes the efforts of our country to develop representative institutions of the most democratic kind. Discusses representative government, changes in our three branches of Federal government, nomination procedures, and other problems of popular control of government.

*Passing a Bill in Congress.* 44 fr. Black and white. Sale. Heritage Filmstrips, Inc. Cartoon figures of bills are used to trace the several possibilities of action on bills in the two Houses at the hands of the President. Includes consideration of committee system and summary discussion.

*The New Administration in Washington.* 53 fr. Black and white. Sale. Office of Educational Activities, *The New York Times*, 229 W. 43rd St., New York 36, N.Y. Examines the tasks facing the new President, who assumes office at the time of grave international crisis. It ranges over the whole sphere of world issues, the challenge of the Soviet Union in the cold war, the race for space, Missile Age Defense, economic rivalry, and the many areas of tension.

*Momentous Decade: The Fifties.* 59 fr. Black and white. Sale. *The New York Times*. Reviews the impact of the Fifties on America from the Korean War and the closing years of the Truman Administration throughout the Eisenhower terms. The dawn of the Age of Space is used as a backdrop for the growing might of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and the bitter conflicts of "hot" and "cold" war. Also, the crescendo of nationalism and the other world trends are depicted in the sweep of events that has changed the world scene and issued challenges for the Sixties.

*China: Communism in Asia.* 59 fr. Black and white. *New York Times*. Turns the spotlight on the threats to world peace and to the free nations of the Far East posed

by Communist China. It scrutinizes the Peiping regime's dependence on and relations with the Soviet Union, and its targets—the Chinese Nationalist regime of

Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan, India, Japan, and Southeast Asia. Historical background runs from the birth of the Chinese Republic to the rise of Mao Tse-tung.

## Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia

*Government in the Fifty States.* By William Anderson, Clara Penniman, and Edward W. Weidner. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960. Pp. xi, 509. \$6.50.

This highly readable book is a revised edition of the 1951 text by Anderson and Weidner under the title of *State and Local Government*. Both of these authors have acted in an advisory capacity with respect to the new edition, but Clara Penniman of the University of Wisconsin is the responsible author. The new title indicates the importance given to the newest states of the Union as well as more emphasis on state as opposed to local governmental structure. Local institutions and problems receive attention, however, particularly as they reflect upon the problems facing state governments.

The book follows the traditional topical approach. Its organizational structure, subheadings, transitions, and overall interrelatedness and coherence are highly adequate. It has several interest-invoking features, illustrative of which are the comparisons of states of the Union with foreign countries according to both population and area (p. 15); the currently timely topic of apportionment (pp. 222-231); case studies of a bill in a state legislature (pp. 251-252), of cross-filing (pp. 8-9), and of apportionment in Wisconsin (pp. 10-12); and a description of the 1950 Minnesota Democratic Primary in which several unknowns were nominated to include a soy-bean factory worker for membership on a state-wide utility regulating body, and a truck driver for clerk of the Supreme Court (p. 189). Special attention is given to the problems of metropolitan areas in this

edition, and new data concerning Alaska are interwoven throughout the body of the work. The new Constitution of Alaska is included as an appendix.

Material on specific states will, of course, continue to be desirable as supplementary to any book on all the states. One will find argument with occasional judgments here and there, such as "state and local bonds now issue at such low rates of interest that the tax burden to support the debt is proportionately smaller" than previously (p. 340). But for a text to approach such a high degree of satisfaction in covering fifty jurisdictions and an inestimable number of relationships is no mean accomplishment. The book is unusually free of tongue-twisting jargon. It has a valuable index.

ELBERT M. BYRD, JR.

University of Maryland  
College Park, Md.

*Dr. Schweitzer of Lambarene.* By Norman Cousins. Harper and Brothers, 1960. Pp. 254. \$5.00.

This volume is concerned with one of the few men in the course of human civilization with a great radiance of intellect and personality who has unselfishly given himself for the good of the human community. The author says, "The greatness of Schweitzer—indeed the essence of Schweitzer—is the man as a symbol. It is not so much what he has done for others, but what others have done because of him and the power of example."

Cousins was able to get a first hand report of the doctor's activities when he visited him in an effort to secure his two highly valued

manuscripts, namely, *The Kingdom of God* and *The Philosophy of Civilization*, and to secure a statement from him which would reinforce the world plea for the suspension of atomic testing. While at Lambarene, Cousins was also able to examine the jungle clinic, the Schweitzer staff, and the real-life operation of the "love of one's fellow men."

In a series of talks with Schweitzer, Cousins has captured the ideas of the man on such topics as religion, philosophy, and atomic testing. One of great interest to all will be his views on religion. Schweitzer believes that Christian theology has become over-complicated, for there have been too many conflicting interpretations and dogmas growing from the theological debates. In an effort to remove himself from the influence of these interpretations, he has developed his own ideas. Instead of attempting to gain acceptance for his ideas, he has decided to make his life his argument. However, Schweitzer claims that he is not a mystic for he has heard no voices.

It is interesting to note that he disagrees with the Christian concept of God. He does not conceive of Him as a guarantor of good. He says, "God manifests himself through the spiritual evolution of man through the struggle of man to become aware of the spiritual nature of his being and then to nurture it and give it scope." It short, he believes that God manifests himself through the human spirit, and when the individual is able to discover and develop his spiritual awareness, he is pleasing to the Deity.

Schweitzer admonishes the world on its acceptance of theologic rigidity. He believes this detrimental to religion, for young people are looking for spiritual adventure, and are being disappointed because there are no expanding truths. The result is that religion is fixing itself to ideas which youth refuse to accept. Schweitzer adds that there is nothing bad about searching for true religiosity.

The volume will have pertinence in the life of everyone by virtue of the fact that he is a human being. Moreover, Cousins' content and style have been geared to an easy reading, which will make this book a source

of enjoyment and contemplation for the high school student as well as the college professor. Perhaps the author's consideration for level and lucidity is explained by his saying, "If there is need in America today, it is for Schweitzers among us."

FRANK T. ARONE

Teaneck High School  
Teaneck, New Jersey

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*Our Community*. Edited by Dorothy and Curtis Mial. New York: New York University Press, 1960. Pp. 269. \$5.00.

This is a volume somewhat like Warren's *Studying Your Community*, Matthews' *Guide to Community Action*, Sanders' *Making Good Communities Better*, and related to the checklist type inventories and instructions for community study and improvement distributed by the Adult Education Association, the Southern Regional Council and publications by other such organizations concerned over community relations and betterment.

Progress in American life has always been characterized by the efforts of voluntary associations and many communities in recent years have made great steps, from the elimination of vice and smog to the provision of improved housing and race relations, through the contributions of adult citizens who have joined together to institute needed programs of action. This book reviews the ways in which interested groups can study their communities, assay their strengths and problems, organize plans to improve conditions and get the necessary support for such campaigns. The book includes ideas and practices found useful in a number of community studies across the nation, drawing on published works such as those mentioned above and reports of citizen's councils and governmental analyses. Examples of worthwhile committee approaches, means of setting community goals and of gaining participation are also reported. Whether a group wishes to assess the resources of the locality or find ways of reducing conflicts in a neighborhood, town or county, they will find helpful suggestions in works such as this.

High school students in Civics, Problems,



Core or any other class that might be about to start a community unit will find guidance in *Our Community*. Specific ideas related to finding the answers to such questions as: "How did our community get the way it is?", "What kind of community do we have?" or "What kind of community do we want?" are provided. The appendix contains "The Comparator," a "measuring" device developed to help size up a city, reveal needed community services and improvements, and to ascertain citizens' opinions, in light of their observations and experiences, as to the strong-points and needed progress in the locality. With the "standards" included a group of pupils can not only develop a realistic community "profile" but also compare their community with others. Today school and community organizations often join hands in mobilizing forces in cooperative ventures in community progress; books as this reference can aid materially in shaping such programs.

RICHARD E. GROSS

Stanford University  
Stanford, California

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*Mathew Carey. Pamphleteer for Freedom.*

By Jane F. Hindman. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1960. Pp. 190. \$2.50.

Jane Hindman has written an interesting biographical sketch of Mathew Carey, in vocabulary suitable for readers from eleven to fourteen years of age. Carey, an Irish Catholic, was born in 1760 in Dublin and fought for freedom with his pen and printing press in Ireland and then in America.

The first half of the book deals with the struggles of Mathew Carey from the time he was nine years old until he escaped to America. Miss Hindman has great empathy for the youth who was born with one impediment, being Irish Catholic at a time when England imposed laws that were intended to "grind all loyal souls into dire poverty." At a young age, he acquired another impediment—he limped. Then, at the age of fifteen he aspired to a career of printer and book-maker, a third impediment, since, as a Catholic, apprenticeship in this profession was

difficult to obtain. The author develops her story as Carey overcomes these handicaps.

The second half of the book deals with the successful career of this pamphleteer for freedom in the New World. It was the Marquis de Lafayette who helped Carey financially to realize a boyhood dream—ownership of a newspaper.

The story lucidly illustrates how this man wrote on any cause he believed just. He defended the liberty of person, the liberty of property, and the liberty of opinion. Certainly, he is a figure any young man or woman would want to emulate. Time and again the author emphasizes that with perseverance and ability a young man can make strides in spite of what might appear to be insurmountable obstacles, a theme which appeals to junior high school students. The illustrations by W. N. Wilson add to the interest of the book.

MAX FEIGENBERG

Lincoln High School  
Philadelphia, Penna.

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*Italy and the United Nations.* Report of a Study Group set up by the Italian Society for International Organization. Prepared for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. New York: Manhattan Publishing Company, 1959. Pp. xiii, 208. \$3.00.

*China and the United Nations.* Report of a Study Group set up by the China Institute of International Affairs. Prepared for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. New York: Manhattan Publishing Company, 1959. Pp. xi, 285. \$3.00.

The two foregoing volumes form part of a series "National Studies on International Organization," actually on the United Nations, which were initiated in 1952 by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. They represent the work of study groups, composed of distinguished Italian and Chinese-Nationalist scholars respectively. The purpose of these and other corresponding volumes about a number of other countries, in each case by their own scholars, is to assess "the strengths and weaknesses

of the United Nations in terms of national expectations" (iii) and to stimulate a more thorough examination of its past achievements and future potentialities.

The two studies are valuable as authoritative and scholarly investigations both of the impact of the U. N. on the foreign policy of these countries and of their policies in the U. N. on questions which affected them vitally. Both the student of international organization and of the U. N. as well as the specialist concerned with the foreign policy of Italy and China will welcome these thorough expositions of the viewpoints of these states. He will find of special value the analysis of the attitude of the various political parties and shades of opinion, of the daily press and scholarly magazines toward the U. N. The books are written from a definite national point of view, the study on China being of course anti-communist.

While Italy was not admitted as a member of the U. N. until December, 1955, she has taken an active part in international organization since the end of the Second World War, as member of several specialized U. N. agencies, such as the IRO, ILO, UNESCO, WHO, and UNICEF. The study on Italy begins with an analysis of Italy's role in the Council of Europe, NATO, and the Western European Union, and continues with her struggle for admission to the U. N., delay of which caused deep disappointment, constituting a "blow to the national pride" (18). Almost one third of the study is devoted to "Dependent Territories"; the Italian overseas territories in Africa, Libya, Eritrea, and Somaliland figured large in her dealings with the U. N. International economic, social and cultural questions and Italy's role and interest in the specialized agencies are dealt with in the remainder of the work. The authors point to the "limited knowledge" (186) of international social and cultural activities among the Italian people. This "ignorance," feeding a "narrow nationalist outlook," is considered an obstacle to the creation of an "international conscience among the people." Final suggestions are made regarding refugee protection, the conclusion of more bilat-

eral agreements between emigration and immigration countries, the settlement of refugees through agricultural development of vast uncultivated areas in many parts of the world, and especially the education of the new generation along international, instead of exclusively national lines. This education ought to be undertaken already in primary and secondary schools. The authors conclude that reforming the men who must apply the U. N. Charter seemed more practical and urgent than reforming the Charter itself: "A faulty instrument can still serve, provided the men who use it really want it to work and know how to do so. On the other hand, the most perfect instrument is useless in the hands of those who do not use it for its real purpose." (192).

The volume on China begins with a historic survey "From Isolationism to Internationalism," in which the United States' support in the post-war world for a more broadly-based government in China is criticized as having allegedly "tied the hands of the government" (14), though the then Chinese government is not absolved from all mistakes (15). In the two following chapters the authors stress the Chinese contribution to the shaping of the world organization, detailing especially the role of the Chinese delegation at the San Francisco Conference. Other chapters deal with the veto in the Security Council, the admission of new members, the pacific settlement of international disputes, collective security, disarmament, and the policies of the Chinese Nationalist Delegation in regard to these problems. Of special interest are the chapters on U. N. action in Korea, and "China's Case against the Soviet Union" and "The Question of Chinese Representation." China's case against Soviet Russia suffers from its emphasis on legal aspects, on Soviet violations of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1945 and of the U. N. charter and from the well-known tendency to look upon Chinese Communists as nothing but stooges of Moscow (240, 257). The last chapter restates once again the often-heard arguments against the seating of the Chinese Communists. Having world

domination as goal, Communist China, once having been seated, would have "scores to settle" (260) with the United States and other Western powers and would challenge American interests and influences everywhere; she would destroy the usefulness of the United Nations.

ALFRED D. LOW

Youngstown University  
Youngstown, Ohio

*China: Lore, Legend and Lyrics.* By R. de Rohan Barondes. New York: Philosophical Library, 1960. Pp. 238. \$4.75.

In these days when inexpensive editions of the excellent writings of Arthur Waley and H. G. Creel can be found on the paperback shelves of almost every book store, it is remarkable that this book could have been published. It is easily the most ill-informed book on China to appear in many years.

As the title suggests, the author is primarily interested in Chinese legends, myths and superstitions, but there are also short chapters on the philosophers and the arts. All the chapters are characterized by unsystematic treatment, indiscriminate mixing of legend and history, and incredible errors in fact and understanding. One of Dr. Barondes' troubles stems from his failure to read even the most basic writings in the field (the "Bibliography" [p. 239] contains only three titles of value). Since he is interested especially in legends and superstitions, he should have looked at the immense compilation of H. Doré (*Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, Shanghai, 1914-1929, 15 vols.) and J. J. M. de Groot (*The Religious System of China*, Leiden, 1892, 6 vols.). There is no evidence that he did so. The author has trouble keeping straight even the limited number of facts at his disposal: The Golden Rule of Confucius is attributed both to Lao-tzu (p. 60) and to Confucius (p. 69); the great Neo-Confucian philosopher Chu Hsi (1130-1200) is called "the great Taoist, Chu Hsi," and is assigned the dates 1017-1073, which belong to quite another philosopher, Chou Tun-i (p. 12); the province of "Szechuen" is called a city (p. 147); the

poet Tu Fu (712-770) is said to have drowned in a moonlit river while drunk (p. 194)—a fate that has heretofore been ascribed to the poet Li Po. The remarks on culture contain serious chronological errors: to say that "all branches of lacquer work can be traced to the Sung dynasty, A. D. 959-1278" (p. 168) is to be about a thousand years too late; to say that the Chinese had iron in 1700 B. C. (p. 4) is to be at least a thousand years too soon.

Dr. Barondes' discussions of the Chinese language sometimes approach pure fantasy. He seems to regard the famous "tones" of Chinese as perverse complications which the Chinese add to their speech in order to confound their auditors. Fortunately, however, "the Chinese mind, after long experience, possesses an odd filtering mechanism which enables it to readily grasp 'sing-song' speech as it is spoken. . . ." (pp. 150, 177).

It is admirable to want to "bridge the existing gulf between the East and the West" (p. viii), but one must do a reasonable amount of preparation and exercise a reasonable amount of care in order to attempt it. Certainly all efforts to understand China must come to a halt in the face of hackneyed and stultifying references to "the patience, assiduity, and guile so characteristic of the inscrutable Oriental. . . ." (p. 115).

DAVID M. FARQUHAR

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*Civics: Fifty-State Edition.* By Jack Allen and Clarence Stegmeir. New York: American Book Company, 1960. Pp. 552. \$5.00.

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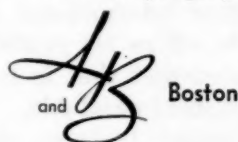
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WILLIAM HUNTER SHANNON

Catonsville Senior High  
Baltimore, Md.

*Montesquieu and Rousseau, Forerunners of Sociology.* By Emile Durkheim. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960. Pp. 155. \$3.95.

Every so often Americans "re-discover" a foreign scholar and he and his works become the next thing to a fad. Such a popularity is

now being accorded the late Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), the French social philosopher, an imaginative personality who wrote and taught with a fervor and a deductive type of hypothesizing that led many modern social scientists to steer clear of his speculation and insights. The centennial of his birth has brought a renewed attention to Durkheim; but the growth of interest in his work is also related to the recognition on the part of social scientists that although their field should continue to attempt to describe human events accurately and even to predict, that their objectivity should not obscure their essential function of helping men to better themselves and their institutions.

This volume includes two of Durkheim's works appearing in English in America for the first time. Both reflect his attempt to place philosophy upon as objective as possible a research base, as well as to put such thinking to practical use. They include his thesis (1893) upon Montesquieu's contributions to sociology and his analysis of Rous-

seau's *The Social Contract*, completed at a later date. Included also is a foreword by H. Peyre and comments by A. Cuviller and G. Davy, who discuss Durkheim, his influence at the University of Bordeaux, the Sorbonne, and eventually beyond the borders of France, as he contributed to forwarding the use of the social sciences in assisting men to know themselves and to solve practical problems through the exploration of social realities.

Durkheim recognizes the early efforts of his countryman Auguste Comte who distinguished the various areas within the field of sociology (which he also named) as he laid the foundations of the discipline. But Durkheim in these two essays traces the origins or the impetus of sociology to the brilliant group of eighteenth-century philosophers, headed by Montesquieu and Rousseau, who held forth the hope that the common man, once he understood his environment and his social role as well as himself, might someday still change the world to the better place that it should be. The import of teachers and schools in this challenge is clear, for Durkheim, as Montesquieu and Rousseau, saw such a growth of social consciousness and moral regeneration in the West as growing mainly through proper education, wherein men who are not free to do just as they please, learn that to be free means to be "master of oneself, to know how to act with reason and to fulfill one's duty."

RICHARD E. GROSS

Stanford University  
Stanford, California

*Our World History*. By C. E. Black. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1960. Pp. xxxv, 710. \$5.00.

This attractive and interesting book can be highly recommended to all secondary school teachers who are either teaching or planning to teach a course on world history. It is a worthy successor to the *World History* by Smith, Muzzey, Lloyd, as adapted from *Our World Today* by James Harvey Robinson, Emma Peters Smith, and James Harvey Breasted.

After briefly setting forth ten reasons why a knowledge of world history is important for every student—especially in an age when the world community is shrinking rapidly—the author, in seven basic units, traces man's struggle from earliest times to our own day. He devotes most of his chapters—and correctly so—to our western heritage, but he does not neglect to emphasize significant developments in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In his treatment of our own atomic age, he points out the basic factors and forces—political, economic, and social—that are at work in changing our world. Indeed, he surveys, in his concluding chapters, such topics as the spread of nationalism in Asia and Africa, the emergence of new nations, the problem of the underdeveloped areas, the impact of scientific discoveries, the clash of ideologies, the Cold War, and the role of the United Nations and other international organizations. In short, he offers his youthful readers a rich and varied diet that is both highly concentrated and most palatable.

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RICHARD H. BAUER

University of Maryland  
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(Continued from page 42)

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